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WHEN THE FOREIGN BECAME FAMILIAR: MODERNISM, EXPATRIATION,  
AND SPATIAL IDENTITIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

Danielle K. Clapham, B.A., M.A.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Marquette University, in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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ABSTRACT  
WHEN THE FOREIGN BECAME FAMILIAR: MODERNISM, EXPATRIATION,  
AND SPATIAL IDENTITIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Danielle K. Clapham, B.A., M.A.

Marquette University, 2020

This dissertation uses the life writing and fiction of Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, and James Joyce to challenge the mythic construction of the autonomous modernist subject through the lens of expatriation. I use the expatriate as a paradigmatic figure of modernism to scrutinize common perceptions of modernist expatriation as a dissociation with tradition and national politics. Instead, this project positions modernism as a movement deeply enmeshed in celebrity culture and the cooptation of foreign spaces. I employ a spatial mode of reading expatriate fiction through which the physical sites of expatriation become symbols of expatriate values and identity in conflict with local cultures. This methodology exposes the exploitation inherent in high modernist expatriation as a practice and challenges popular understandings of modernist expatriation as a liberatory movement.

The project begins in Chapter 1 with an analysis of Paris as the paradigmatic space of expatriate modernism through Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast*. I argue that the spatial representations in both texts encouraged contemporary readers to view Paris through a largely American lens and lead to the construction and commodification of the expatriate myth by transatlantic tourists. In Chapter Two, I extend the conversation of tourism into Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to offer a rereading of both texts as tourist narratives centered around the personal development of the expatriate protagonists. Finally, in Chapter 3, I use Joyce's representations of Ireland to illustrate how his depictions of the space become progressively more fragmented and telescopic across the increasing distance of exile, demonstrating a rejection of the colonial space by rendering it unknowable. I conclude with a brief consideration of the cultural implications of modernist narratives of expatriation through a close reading of twenty-first-century tourist sites that draw on the myth of modernist expatriation. I argue that by extending the spatial methodology to twenty-first-century byproducts of modernism, we can see how early twentieth-century notions of expatriation have permanently altered our perspective on globalism and the "foreign" spaces of Western Europe.

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Danielle K. Clapham, B.A., M.A.

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## INTRODUCTION

The intellectuals had explored many paths; they had found no way of escape; one after another they had opened doors that led only into the cupboards and linen closets of the mind. “What should a young man do?” asked Harold Stearns in an article written for the *Freeman*. This time his answer was simple and uncompromising. A young man had no future in this country of hypocrisy and repression. He should take ship for Europe, where people know how to live.

—Malcolm Cowley, *Exiles Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*

In the years following WWI, the war-weary streets of Europe quickly filled with foreigners. From modern painters studying Cubism in Paris and businessmen capitalizing on the demand for American exports, to African Americans escaping racial violence and tourists seeking entertainment and cheap liquor, the early twentieth century was a moment of mobility when the expatriate reigned supreme. Few figures are so paradigmatic of the expatriate invasion as the transnational modernist. Though modernist artists and writers represented only a small fraction of the expatriates flooding Europe in the 1920s, in the decades since these figures have come to be considered originators of twentieth-century culture and art. For modernists like Eliot, Picasso, Stravinsky, Pound, and others, transnational mobility promised freedom from convention and the opportunity for boundless artistic expression. Expatriation was the means by which the twentieth century was made.

However, this narrative of transnational modernism is a myth. Rooted in modernist life writing and the later work of the New Critics who, for decades, inaccurately characterized modernism as an apolitical movement, untethered to traditional conventions or affiliations and outside of popular culture.<sup>1</sup> While modernist

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<sup>1</sup> Building on Eliot’s emphasis on aesthetics and formalism and his insistence that understanding poetry should be difficult (*The Sacred Wood* 96), the New Critics aimed to prescribe “parameters for reading and analyzing texts that valorized the difficulty, allusion, and autonomy that they saw in modernist texts, while



critics successfully repoliticized and rehistoricized modernism in the 1980s with the rise of readings concerned with nation, economics, politics, and culture, the New Critics' characterizations of modernism as detached and autonomous has had long-term implications for our study of the movement and the modernists themselves. Even as modernist studies acknowledges the artists' political engagement and historical situations, as Astradur Eysteinnsson notes, "[t]hat modernist literature has severed ties with society, reality, or history has indeed been a basic assumption behind a great deal of criticism of modernism," including "historically minded" criticism (12). While modernism may now be understood as a historically and politically situated movement, the modernists themselves are still often characterized as artists in pursuit of an apolitical, autonomous aesthetic.

In this dissertation I challenge this mythic construction of the autonomous modernist subject by focusing on the expatriate as a paradigmatic figure in the movement and a means through which to scrutinize the construction of the transnational modernist identity.<sup>2</sup> My focus on expatriation builds upon the existing move in the field toward

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severing such texts from any moralizing, politicizing, or historicizing influence (Rogers & Latham 43). The New Critics used the term modernism as a way to define a set of canonical texts and anthologize them for study in universities. While this led to more critical treatment of a number of works, it was also highly exclusionary, leaving out works deemed too political, too emotional, or too connected to mass culture. New Criticism fell out of vogue in the late 1960s, and by the 1980s New Criticism was "relegated to the status of superseded paradigm" as modernist critics generated increasingly political and historicizing critiques of the modernist movement and its key actors (Hickman & McIntyre 1).

<sup>2</sup> While this dissertation primarily uses the term expatriation to describe long-term transnational movement of modernist artists, the early twentieth century included many forms of transnational mobility and migration including foreign military service, transatlantic tourism, and political exile. The collective effect of these various types mobilities is a view of modernism as fundamentally mobile and international and a modernist subject who is more remarkable for his transience than his rootedness. Modernist literature reflects this shift with some of the most famous modernist texts grappling explicitly with issues of travel, globalization, cosmopolitanism, and transnationalism.

This dissertation deals to some extent with all of these varieties of transnationalism, from Stein's expatriation to Paris, to Hemingway's foreign military service and later tourism in Western Europe, to Joyce's self-imposed exile from Ireland. What unites the authors of this study, however, is the ways they embraced transnationalism not merely as part of their individual lifestyles but also as a fundamental part of their work. While these authors are not exceptional (transnational themes occur across the modernist

transnationalism and mobility identified by Douglass Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz in their landmark essay “The New Modernist Studies” with a critique of many modernists’ expressed desires for autonomy and escape from national affiliation through the lens of spatial and political exploitation.<sup>3</sup> Though expatriation has often been treated as an intentional disassociation with tradition and national politics (aided by the life writing and fictional narratives by modernist expatriates themselves), I argue this separation from tradition is contradicted by the simultaneous promotion of celebrity culture surrounding modernist expatriate communities. Faced with the potential for popular success, authors were left to reconcile their own ideological desires for autonomy and freedom from traditions with their desire for literary and public acclaim. I argue the tension between these desires lead many expatriates to exploit foreign cultures and coopt foreign spaces to build and support their own public image; ultimately, modernist expatriates like Stein, Hemingway, and Joyce both helped construct and consciously deployed the mythic image of the expatriate modernist as a way to support their own international celebrity status and find publication outlets for their work.

I excavate the exploitative politics within the act of modernist expatriation by analyzing the work of several canonical modernist expatriates and conducting a spatial reading of the physical spaces they inhabited while abroad and write about in their work. I use the expatriate experiences, life writing, and fiction of Gertrude Stein, Ernest

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tradition), their fiction uniquely deals with transnational spaces and the role of the displaced modernist subject within them, and it positions expatriation as a fundamental part of both their personal identities and modernist artistic production.

<sup>3</sup> Mao and Walkowitz characterize the transformation of modernist literary scholarship as an “expansion” of both spatial, temporal, and cultural considerations. They identify two dominant shifts in the field of modernist studies: (1) a new focus on transnationalism and transnational exchange and (2) a deconstruction of the division between high and low culture. Regarding transnationalism in particular, they highlight the expansion of locations and temporalities in which scholars discuss modernism and modernist traditions; this clears the way for multiple potential modernisms situated in various global contexts and temporalities.

Hemingway, and James Joyce to return to the moment of modernist expatriation in the early twentieth century and recover the history by which a preoccupation with foreign and domestic spaces emerged as a key feature of modernism and the modernist myth. By focusing on the foreign spaces represented in expatriate fiction, the physical sites of expatriation become symbols of expatriate values and identity in conflict with local cultures and identities. Rather than acculturating to foreign cultures and rejecting traditional power dynamics, modernist expatriates laid claim to foreign spaces for their own entertainment and use, a process that more is imperialistic than cosmopolitan. By connecting the surge in expatriation in the early twentieth century and expatriate modernist texts to the development of modernism, this dissertation roots the Anglo-American modernist tradition in exploitative politics and twentieth -century mass culture and commerce, challenging the apolitical paradigm previously associated with the movement. Understanding expatriate modernism as in part an exploitation of foreign spaces brings into question the notion of modernism and expatriation as liberatory movements, and instead raises questions about the values that underlie both the modernist expatriate project and the high modernism aesthetic as a whole.

My analysis reads the texts of high modernist expatriation through the lens of spatial representation and spatial identities. Modernism itself is often described as a movement that centers on internationalism, transnationalism, and mobility, and each of these concerns revolve around the modern subject's relationship to spaces—after all, what does the term “expatriate” denote except the subject's relationship to a particular national space? As a result, a great deal of modernist literature is spatially-obsessed, with many writers experimenting with new ways of depicting the spaces they inhabit, the

spaces they abandon, and their place in both. This dissertation treats spatial concerns and spatial representation as the ever-present subtext of expatriate modernist literature and studies how the depictions of expatriate spaces in modernist literature help us connect modernist artistic production to social, political, and historical concerns of nationalism, globalism, commerce, and mass culture.

The traditional high modernist canon largely centers around Anglo-European spaces. Even more specifically, the movement is often associated with a handful of cosmopolitan cities that have come to embody the spirit of the modernist myth. As Raymond Williams describes in “When Was Modernism?,” a series of metropolitan, neo-imperial cities “offered themselves as transnational capitals of art without frontiers. Paris, Vienna, Berlin, London, New York took on a new silhouette as the eponymous City of Strangers, the most appropriate locale for art made by the restlessly mobile émigré or exile, the internationally anti-bourgeois artist” (50). Stanford Friedman echoes Williams’s list, adding that modernism has traditionally been “definitionally linked with the metropolitan centers of nations and empires, most particularly the great ‘cultural capitals’ of Europe and the United States” (35). Even despite recent efforts to diversify the modernist canon and expand its geographic borders, these modernist “capital cities” continue to dominate our understanding of the movement and its development.

I return to traditional sites of modernist expatriation (i.e. Paris, Madrid, Dublin) to interrogate the roles these spaces played in the development of the modernist aesthetic and in the modernists’ construction of their own transnational, expatriate identities. My focus on these conventional sites and authors within the modernist tradition is not meant to ignore the necessary spatial expansion proposed in the New Modernist Studies. Rather

I aim to uncover the ways in which traditional high modernist paradigm is deliberately bound to these international spaces.

I use these canonical “capital cities” of modernism not to argue for their primacy but rather to identify a history of exploitation and cooptation of these cities in the development of the Anglophonic modernist traditions. This argument of exploitation runs counter to the typical framing of modernism as a radical rejection of convention and a transcendence of conventional forms of affiliation (including spatial affiliations like national identity). Instead, I position expatriate modernism as a movement deeply dependent on writers’ national affiliations and invested in maintaining the image of internationalism without engaging in meaningful cross-cultural exchange. This argument hinges on two main claims:

1. Modernist expatriation, as it is represented in the high modernist canon, is an act of privilege made possible through the complex socioeconomic and political circumstances following WWI.
2. Modernist expatriation and related claims of autonomous and anti-traditionalist values provided modernist artists access to popular markets and material for their art.

These claims both reframe expatriate modernism as part of a complex network of cross-cultural exchange and place the movement in the context of mass culture.

### **Expatriation and Political Privilege**

While expatriation on the surface may seem a rejection of national affiliation, it is important to remember that the ability to expatriate often depends on the expatriate’s nationality and socioeconomic status; transnational mobility is only available for people

who can prove a stable national identity. As Bridget Chalk notes, this was increasingly the case in the early twentieth century with the implementation of the passport system and the “strengthening technologies of mobility controls” (4). Chalk’s work challenges the idea of universal transnational mobility by illustrating how the passport system required “nuanced awareness of the importance of national differentiation to international difference” (11). Even as modernists attempt to transcend national identity and affiliation in their lives and work, they are ultimately required to define themselves within stable national and social categories in order to move abroad. As a result, as Chalk states, “National identity as it is imposed, imagined, and put into practice resides at the center of many modernist accounts of travel and expatriation” (11). Chalk’s analysis of twentieth-century biopolitics highlights both the inescapability of national affiliation for modernist artists abroad as well as the privilege required to enable transnational travel. As she points out, “Without a stable national and social identity...a cosmopolitan lifestyle remains out of reach” (13). Therefore, for the authors in this dissertation, nationality remains a constant (if sometimes uneasy) mode of self-identification.

While a stable national identity is a prerequisite for transnational mobility, nationality also influences the ways modernist expatriates encountered spaces and therefore also impacts the way they represent those spaces in their work. As Berman states, modernist cosmopolitanism may look universalizing, but “it frequently hides an intense effort to specify the location and limitation of that cosmopolitanism” (*Cosmopolitan Communities* 27). In other words, “the world does not simply occupy the outermost circle of a concentric cosmopolitan perspective; the local community colors, shapes, and constrains the ways the world can be imagined” (*Cosmopolitan Communities*

27). In some sense, expatriation is as an *expression* of national affiliation even as it claims to be a rejection of it. This inability to escape national perspectives has long-reaching effects, particularly given the dominance of expatriate modernist narratives in the development of the high modernist canon. Modernists like James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, and Ernest Hemingway are often viewed as voices of the era, and their representations of transnational spaces like Paris, Pamplona, and Dublin have often been taken at face value, particularly by popular readers. However, if Berman's statement rings true, their representations are inevitably distorted by their own national affiliations and by the positions of privilege that allow them "to feel themselves to exist without boundaries" (Berman, *Cosmopolitan Communities* 27).

Historically, spatial analyses have provided fruitful methods for examining the implications of the kind of political privilege inherent in transnational mobility. However, such analyses have varied greatly across the decades from texts that use space rather than time as a method of classification for modernist literature, to biographical studies of authors' own national and global affiliations,<sup>4</sup> to studies that employ geographical terms and theories to literary texts.<sup>5</sup> Early examples of spatial analyses, however, often helped uphold the myth of modernist autonomy and freedom from tradition. For example, Joseph Frank's "Spatial Form in Modern Literature" from 1945 argues that modern literature utilizes a "spatial form" in which the "reader is intended to apprehend [modernist] work spatially, in a moment of time, rather than as a sequence," disrupting the linear narrative

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<sup>4</sup> There are innumerable examples of this critical trend, but the work surrounding James Joyce provides particularly apt examples. See Jack Morgan's *Joyce's City: History, Politics, and Life in Dubliners or Making Space in the Works of James Joyce*, edited by Valérie Bénéjam and John Bishop.

<sup>5</sup> See *Geographies of Modernism: Literatures, Cultures, Spaces*, edited by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker.

structure of most nineteenth-century novels (225). However, as Latham and Rogers note, Frank's argument for modernist spatial form contributes to the myth of the ahistorical and autonomous modernist text as "[t]he triumph of space moves art away from time and thus politics" (56).

In contrast, more recent critics have deployed spatial analyses as a method of deconstructing political privilege at the heart of the high modernist canon, placing modernist production in the context of twentieth-century globalization. In the years surrounding Mao and Walkowitz's "The New Modernist Studies," for example, several critics have conducted spatial analyses of modernist literature that move beyond Frank's study of form and into the physical spaces in which modernist texts are produced. From Eric Bulson's analysis of literary maps in modernist texts to Susan Stanford Friedman's spatial reading strategy of cultural parataxis, spatial questions have become increasingly popular in modernist studies since the late 2000s. Brooker and Thacker offer a justification for this expansion of modernist criticism into new forms of spatial analyses, arguing,

Three main reasons for studying modernism in spatial and geographic terms: (1) many postmodern critics (i.e. Jameson, Lefebvre, etc.) have employed cultural geography and other spatial terms and concepts to discuss late modernism and postmodernism, and they invite a revisiting of modernism as a whole; (2) ongoing interactions with globalization encourage us to understand the global world and our concept of and relationships to space as subject to change; (3) the history of postcolonialism encourages a rethinking of the modernism and its practices through the lenses of empire and colonialism, leading us to reconsider how



modernism was enacted and is studied in spaces that are mired in colonial politics and marked by histories of imperialism and migration. (1-2)

Their justifications resemble those of several other critics in the field and have been used to facilitate what Mao and Walkowitz call a “spatial expansion” in the field of modernist studies leading to the study of “texts produced in other quarters of the world or by hitherto little-recognized enclaves in the privileged areas” (737). Essentially, the majority of spatial analyses that have emerged in the wake the New Modernist Studies have used spatial questions to move modernist studies beyond Anglo- and Eurocentric notions of the modernist canon. This dissertation builds upon these more recent spatial studies by scholars such as Jessica Berman, Jed Esty, Bridget Chalk, and Rebecca Walkowitz who have in their most recent monographs theorized modernist cosmopolitanism, transnationalism, and national identity in ways that challenge both nineteenth- and early twentieth-century notions of affiliation and community, often through a spatial lens. By studying the formation of twentieth-century communities and the politics of globalization, these recent critics have begun to unpack the political privilege that enabled a great deal of modernist transnational mobility.

### **Expatriation and Mass Culture**

The espoused modernist values of anti-conventionality and detachment are often counterbalanced by a desire for critical and popular acclaim. Though high modernism has long been characterized by what Huyssen calls “a conscious strategy of exclusion an anxiety of contamination by its other: an increasingly consuming and engulfing mass culture,” since 1990s critics have begun to deconstruct the “great divide” between high

and low culture and view modernists as equally invested in popular success (vii).<sup>6</sup> As I will explore further in Chapter 1, expatriate enclaves in modernist metropolises like Paris were valuable sites of social and professional networking. Additionally, thanks to the economic advantage many expatriates had over local residents, modernist metropolises were effectively *claimed* by expatriate modernists as sites of cosmopolitan expatriate life rather than sites of local culture.<sup>7</sup> Effectively, expatriate writers thrived by exploiting foreign cultures and coopting foreign spaces in pursuit of a transnational modernist aesthetic. More importantly, by coopting foreign spaces for their own self-promotion and aesthetic development, these artists helped construct the modernist myth.

Foundational to that myth is the concept of modernism as resistant to tradition. As Astradur Eysteinnsson notes, the term modernism itself “signals a dialectal opposition to what is not functionally modern, namely ‘tradition,’ including political, cultural, and national traditions from the nineteenth century” (8). In abandoning tradition, modernists are often viewed as turning inward, as Jameson describes, “away from the social materials associated with realism” and towards an “increased aestheticism and...ideological commitment to the supreme values of a new autonomous Art” (153). In many cases, the source of this detached and autonomous view of modernism was the modernists themselves who wrote critical essays, memoirs, and manifestos describing the ideal modernist artist and art. For example, T. S. Eliot was one of the greatest proponents of the modernist myth, emphasizing form “as an autonomous vehicle for aesthetic

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<sup>6</sup> For some recent examples see Aaron Jaffe’s *Modernism and the culture of celebrity*, Colette Colligan’s *A Publisher’s Paradise: Expatriate Literary Culture in Paris, 1890-1960*, Karen Leick’s *Gertrude Stein and the Making of an American Celebrity*, Alissa Karl’s *Modernism and the Marketplace: Literary Culture and Consumer Capitalism in Rhys, Woolf, Stein, and Nella Larsen*.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 1 for a more detailed account of the financial landscape in Paris following WWI that allowed American expatriates in particular to flourish there.

significance” (Eysteinnsson 11) and the process of creating art as outside of personal emotion and personality. In “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” Eliot advocates setting current artists and poets “among the dead” so that they “must inevitably be judged by the standards of the past” (*The Sacred Wood* 44, 45) and evaluated on how successfully they advance the literary tradition. This approach places poetry not among contemporary politics or culture but instead within a strictly artistic tradition that exists above popular culture and transcends passing fads. The result is an impersonal, even isolated view of modernist production and modernist art, but one that can also outlast the ever-changing markets of mass culture.

Nonetheless, while Eliot advocates for the “continual extinction of personality” in the creation of modernist art, the expatriate modernist persona simultaneously served as a valuable asset in the creation of modernist celebrity culture, particularly for the authors studied in this dissertation. Stein, Hemingway, and Joyce each cultivated their public and literary personas through a careful process of self-narration that side-stepped incriminating political, national, or religious affiliations to support an image of the ideal modernist artist proposed by Eliot. However, such personas also contributed to the authors’ celebrity status, as the texts in which their personas were constructed (i.e. memoirs, autobiographies, and essays) also became popular bestsellers. Within these texts, the authors simultaneously constructed mythic identities for themselves, and encouraged readers to be suspicious of those same identities. From Hemingway inviting readers to interpret his memoir *A Moveable Feast* as fiction, to Gertrude Stein ghost-writing her lover’s autobiography, to James Joyce collapsing his own identity into that of

his alter ego Stephen Dedalus, these authors used self-narration to both promote themselves as celebrities and interrogate the boundary between representation and reality.

In these works, space and spatial representation are central to this self-construction and the balance between the modernist myth and popular success. Through the creation of expatriate enclaves (i.e. Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company, Gertrude Stein's salon on the rue de Fleurus, etc.), expatriate modernists were able to isolate themselves from local culture while maintaining access to publication avenues thanks to expatriate networking and small presses run by fellow modernists.<sup>8</sup> For example, in Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Stein maintains a clear separation between her social circle and the local population of Paris. Though Stein's home in the rue de Fleurus is filled with characters from France and a variety of other European nations, it is largely expatriate artists (distinguished by their talent or social status) who make it into her inner circle while most non-artist French characters are of the servant class. Stein relationship to local French culture is at best absent and at worst exploitative; indeed she remarks that her distance from local culture allows her to more fully develop her own writing and identity: "One of the things that I have liked all these years is to be surrounded by people who know no English. It has left me more intensely alone with my eyes and my English. I do not know if it would have been possible to have English be so all in all to me otherwise" (70). Stein's relationship to the spaces of Paris and to the Parisians is not unique in the expatriate communities of modernism. Indeed, all of the figures discussed in this dissertation use foreign, expatriate spaces as forms of self-construction and self-promotion, choosing which spaces and

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<sup>8</sup> For example, Sylvia Beach was instrumental in publishing Joyce's *Ulysses*, while Ernest Hemingway was connected with his publisher Maxwell Perkins through his connections with F. Scott Fitzgerald.

people will be represented in their texts and what influence those representations have on the artists' public persona. In essence, the ability to narrate a space helps determine of who will have power within it and who is able to mobilize that power for social advancement.

The modernist exploitation of foreign cultures is made even more problematic in light of the celebrity status and economic benefits it resulted in for many expatriates. Foreign spaces were not only sources of artistic inspiration for expatriate modernists; they also provided a gateway into new markets. Though modernism has traditionally been presented as anti-bourgeois and transcendent of mass culture, the New Modernist Studies has generated several materialist critiques of the movement (building on work deconstructing the high/low culture divide) that reconnects modernism to mass markets and celebrity culture (Rosenquist 437). Indeed, as Raymond Williams notes, the popularity of modernist literature in the early twentieth-century mean "that modernist lost its anti-bourgeois stance and achieved comfortable integration into the new international capitalism. Its attempt at a universal market, trans-frontier and trans-class, turned out to be spurious" (51). The anti-capitalist, bohemian ideals that purportedly motivated many modernists' expatriation to Europe quickly became marketable aspects of those same modernists' public identities, and, as Rosenquist notes, "many modernists went beyond simple self-promotion, networking or engagement with mass-cultural modes of communication. In fact, the aesthetic of modernism is found to be deeply embedded in a system of values associated with promotional culture or celebrity (439). While Rosenquist does not directly connect modernist celebrity culture to expatriate enclaves, this dissertation will argue that the communities developed within coopted expatriate

spaces helped vault many modernist expatriates to celebrity status both abroad and in their home nations.

While expatriate privilege and the influence of publication markets appear differently in each of the text under discussion in this dissertation, both threads are consistent concerns across the works of Stein, Hemingway, and Joyce. These authors are united by both their voluntary decisions to live abroad and by their relative celebrity status within modernist expatriate communities (and indeed within modernism as a whole). While each of these authors rejected political or national affiliations and derided mass culture at various points in their careers, as the chapters below will illustrate, they nonetheless benefitted greatly from the political and commercial systems they claimed to abhor.

### **Summary of Chapters**

This dissertation consists of three primary chapters, detailing the spatial relationships at play in the fiction and life writing of some of the most famous modernist expatriates. I trace representations of modernist expatriation through three expatriate spaces (Paris, Spain, and Dublin) and three types of transnational mobility (expatriation, tourism, and exile) to illustrate a continuity in the spatial anxieties for modernist expatriate writers. I begin in Chapter One, “Creating Expatriate Paris,” by focusing my attention on Paris as the most paradigmatic space of expatriate modernism. In “Creating Expatriate Paris,” I use Gertrude Stein’s *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and Ernest Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast* to argue that spatial representation in both texts encourages current and contemporary readers to view Paris largely through an American lens. In their fiction and life writings, both Stein and Hemingway construct a vision of the

expatriate myth and, by extension, the Parisian expatriate lifestyle that both advertised Paris as an attractive tourist destination and positioned the expatriate artist as an essential part of Paris as a space and cultural landmark. Life writing is essential to this argument as a genre that serves as self-promotion for the artists while being treated as historical fact by many contemporary readers. Modernist life writing like Stein's and Hemingway's provided an avenue for creating and affirming the modernist expatriate myth and securing publication avenues and popular readership for modernist work.

In Chapter Two, “Hurray for the Foreigners!” I extend the conversation of tourists and tourist objects in Chapter One into Ernest Hemingway's relationship to Spanish culture. My analysis centers on Hemingway's two Spanish novels, *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to offer a rereading of both texts as tourist narratives centered around the personal development of the expatriate protagonists. This reading centralizes the expatriate figure, rather than local culture or plot, and focusses the novel around the expatriate's relationship to the foreign spaces as sites of self-discovery. I begin with a spatial reading of *The Sun Also Rises* to demonstrate the effects of a tourism reading of Hemingway's fiction; then I turn to a more extended tourism reading of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and expatriate protagonist Robert Jordan's actions in the Spanish Civil War as *slum tourism*. Reading the novel as a narrative of slum tourism transforms the war zone of the mountains and locals' war experience into consumable objects that are used by Jordan to negotiate his own identity and that can be reproduced in the pages of a novel for other foreign readers to use in their own path to self-discovery.

Chapter Three, “Remembered Homelands”, turns away from the American-centric expatriate experience of Chapters 1 and 2 to study James Joyce and the literature

of exile to illustrate how Joyce's fiction employs many of the same spatial representation strategies but with a focus on the homeland as a fraught, ideological space. In Chapter 3, I trace the shift in Joyce's representations of Ireland from *Dubliners*, to *A Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man*, to *Ulysses*, to show how the texts become increasingly abstract and unsettled as Joyce is more and more ideologically and temporally distanced from his nation. The chapter begins with a consideration of spatial representation in *Dubliners* a text framed in explicitly spatial terms, only knowable to those with familiar with its community and history. By *Portrait*, the now expatriate Joyce reconstructs Ireland as a personal space for the aspiring expatriate protagonist Stephen Dedalus and later as a mythic, potentially cosmopolitan space on par with the broader European tradition. In *Ulysses*, however, the cosmopolitanism of Stephen Dedalus in *Portrait* confronts the realities of Joyce's own waning relationship with Dublin. *Ulysses* depicts an Ireland that is at once familiar and yet unknowable. Published 18 years after the author's emigration and in the same year as the Irish Civil War, the text is frozen in time; it is set in 1904 and resorts to abstraction and experimentation to depict the national space that was once so intimately depicted in *Dubliners*. I turn to "Wandering Rocks" in *Ulysses* to illustrate how Joyce's depictions of Dublin as an exile become increasingly fragmented and telescopic throughout his oeuvre, demonstrating a rejection of the colonial space by rendering it unknowable to both the exile and the colonizer.

I conclude this dissertation with a brief consideration of the current cultural implications of modernist narratives of expatriation through a close reading of twenty-first-century tourist sites and texts that draw on the myth of modernist expatriation (e.g. expatriate tours of Paris, Hemingway's statue in Pamplona, annual Bloomsday



celebrations in Dublin, etc.). I discuss how these tourist objects can equally be subjected to a spatial reading to illustrate how the ubiquity of modernist expatriation has led to the prevalent cosmopolitan view of Europe as a travel destination. I argue that by extending the spatial methodology to twenty-first-century byproducts of modernism, we can see how early twentieth-century notions of expatriation and literature have permanently altered our perspective on globalism and the “foreign” spaces of Western Europe.

## CREATING EXPATRIATE PARIS: MODERNIST LIFE-WRITING, CELEBRITY CULTURE, AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY MYTH-MAKING

So it begins to be reasonable that the twentieth century whose mechanics, whose crimes, whose standardisation began in America, needed the background of Paris, the place where tradition was so firm that they could look modern without being different...Of course they all came to France a great many to paint pictures and naturally they could not do that at home, or write they could not do that at home either, they could be dentists at home she knew all about that even before the war, Americans were a practical people and dentistry was practical.

—Gertrude Stein, *Paris France*

In the years following WWI, Paris became the site of an immense transnational movement. Americans were moving abroad. By the mid-1920s, there were over 40,000 American citizens living in Paris, opening businesses, writing literature, and crowding the streets of the City of Lights (Cannon 35). For a number of American expatriates, Paris provided a common space that was both free from American Prohibition-era restrictions and conservatism and affordable for Americans looking to live lavishly on a modest income. While American transplants included people from a number of backgrounds and professions, perhaps the most famous group to walk the Parisian streets is the American expatriate artists who found Paris the perfect backdrop for their experimental and avant-garde work. As expatriate writer Malcolm Cowley notes in his memoir *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*,

In those days publishers were looking for future authors, and the authors insisted that their books would have to be finished in France, where one could live for next to nothing. “Good-by, so long,” they said, “I’ll meet you on the Left Bank. I’ll drink to your health in good red Burgundy, I’ll kiss all the girls for you. I’m sick of this country. I’m going abroad to write one good novel.” (79)

With its many artistic virtues, Paris soon became the epicenter of modernism between the World Wars as it provided a space that was affordable for many Americans but also outside of the standardization and efficiency many artists came to associate with twentieth-century American life. As the Stein quote at the start of this chapter suggests, in America they could be practical, but in Paris they could be provocative.

Various scholars have located Paris at the heart of artistic production in the twenties and thirties with dozens of scholarly manuscripts detailing the various artistic movements centered around the Left Bank.<sup>9</sup> More recently, scholars have begun to investigate the sociocultural effects of the surge in American transplants in Paris following WWI, including its impact on foreign relations, social norms, and economics.<sup>10</sup> In this chapter, I join these more recent studies by offering a spatial reading of the “Americanization” of Paris following World War I through the lens of modernist expatriation as it is depicted in modernist life writing. I focus particularly on Gertrude Stein’s *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933) and Ernest Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast* (1964, published posthumously); in both texts, Stein and Hemingway spend a great deal of time chronicling various streets and locations throughout the city, focusing particularly on the expatriates who lived and worked there at the time. I use these descriptions to show how some modernist expatriates asserted symbolic ownership over Parisian spaces by connecting those spaces to aspects of personal artistic identity

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<sup>9</sup> For examples, see J. Gerald Kennedy’s *Imagining Paris: Exile, Writing, and American Identity*; Mary Sperling McAuliffe’s *Twilight of the Belle Époque: The Paris of Picasso, Stravinsky, Proust, Renault, Marie Curie, Gertrude Stein, and Their Friends through the Great War and When Paris Sizzled: The 1920s Paris of Hemingway Chanel, Cocteau, Cole Porter, Josephine Baker, and Their Friends*; and Collette Colligan’s *A Publisher’s Paradise: Expatriate Literary Culture in Paris, 1890-1960*.

<sup>10</sup> For examples, see Melvyn Stokes’s “Race, Politics, and Censorship: D. W. Griffith’s ‘The Birth of a Nation’ in France, 1916-1923,” Brooke L Blower’s *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture Between the World Wars*, Nancy L. Green’s *The Other Americans in Paris: Businessmen, Countesses, Wayward Youth*.

and the processes of creating twentieth-century art. While there are several examples of criticism on Paris as an expatriate space, they have tended to focus on the modernists' representations of spaces as part of the expression of modernist values and aesthetic principles.<sup>11</sup> My analysis, however, suggests that the modernist depictions of spaces also create an exploitative political relationship between a particular subset of literary modernism (largely white, affluent high modernism) and local French culture and spaces. This relationship led to physical changes to the actual city itself. Effectively, by representing Paris as an expatriate space in their texts, these modernists redefined Paris as a space that is both physically and symbolically owned by expatriates and repurposed for their personal and financial gain.

Stein's and Hemingway's own interactions with and representations of Parisian spaces encourage mainstream American readers to view Paris as a whole through a largely American lens. Over the course of this chapter, I trace this process of Americanization in Paris during the 1920s first through the representations of Parisian spaces in expatriate writing as a way for expatriate modernists to perform authenticity, then through the subsequent growth in American transatlantic tourism following the success of American expatriate literature, and finally through the commodification of Paris and the modernist expatriate lifestyle near the end of the decade. Using the life writing of Stein and Hemingway, I illustrate how Parisian spaces are claimed for expatriate use as the city is reframed as primarily, even exclusively, an expatriate space in which foreigners can cultivate their artistic personas and gain acclaim and celebrity status with their American audiences.

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<sup>11</sup> See Donald Pizer's *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place*, and Ballantyne, Dvorák, and Irvine's *Translocated Modernisms: Paris and Other Lost Generations*

## Modernist Life Writing and the Process of Self-Narration

Within the modernist canon, life writing is a fairly common genre, even more so within the modernist expatriate communities. Examples range from more traditional memoirs like Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return* and Sylvia Beach's *Shakespeare and Company* to autobiographical fiction like Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Though the genre of life writing may suggest a certain historicity and reliance on fact, neither Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* nor Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast* provide a comprehensive or historically accurate account of literary Paris after WWI. Instead, each text functions as a form of self-narration with the deliberate goal of self-promotion and allowed the authors to stake claim over Parisian spaces by narrativizing the importance of the American expatriate experience.

However, though neither text lays claim to a wholly accurate nor even remotely comprehensive view of Paris expatriate culture, these autobiographies (together with the autobiographies and memoirs of other expatriates of the period) help construct a popular history of the culture and space of expatriate Paris that is often taken for granted as "authentic." Their embellished portrayals of their own lives in the twenties were key factors in the subsequent cultural mythology that surrounded the Paris expatriate experience. Both *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and later *A Moveable Feast* helped construct the myth of the expatriate figure in the early twentieth century, solidifying a particular version of American expatriates and expatriate Paris that would dominate American consciousness for decades.

*Life Writing as Advertisement: Stein's The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*

Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is often considered her most famous and commonly read work. This can partially be explained by the context in which the text was written and published. Written over the course of six weeks in 1933 and published that same year, *The Autobiography* was created with the deliberate goal of self-promotion. Though Stein was a prolific writer in the early twentieth century, her works were largely disregarded by mainstream publishers. While she was a well-known member of the Parisian expatriate community (having moved to Paris in 1903 and befriended several famous painters and writers early on), by the late 1920s, Stein's works remained largely unread and had been regarded as gibberish by several critics. Nonetheless, Stein refused to understand why "since the writing was all so clear and natural they mocked at and were enraged by her work" (AABT 35). In spite of the public derision of her stylistic experimentation, Stein persistently wrote to publishers in the US, including Atlantic editor Ellery Sedgwick, insisting that her work was "legitimate literature...entirely in the spirit of all that is first class in American letters whether its newspapers, Walt Whitman or Henry James, or Poe" ("Gertrude Stein and The Atlantic" 112). Unfortunately, her tenacious pursuit of a publisher throughout the 1920s was largely unsuccessful, and she settled for self-publishing most of her work, including *Three Lives* in 1909 (AABT 67).

Frustrated by her own lack of mainstream success, Stein takes a markedly different tactic in *The Autobiography*, abandoning stylistic experimentation for relatively straight-forward prose. As Helga Lenart-Cheng argues, "autobiographical writing offered Stein a perfect occasion to stage an advertising campaign for her own writing and public

image, and she fully and effectively exploited this potential” (120). In contrast to Stein’s earlier works which reviewers described as either “childish and trivial” (*Three Lives*) or even “literally unintelligible” (*Tender Buttons*), reviewers at the time found *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* refreshing (Chilton 558). Following its publication, one reviewer remarked that Stein “has stepped into brilliant daylight, and writes, for the first time in her life, to be popularly understood” (Hall).

Additionally, the content of the memoir depicts Stein as an underappreciated genius taking “the first definite step away from the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century in literature” (*AABT* 54). Throughout the memoir, Stein places herself “in the heart of an art movement of which the outside world at that time knew nothing,” describing famous authors and artists who visited her apartment and appreciated her work (28). Additionally, she educates readers on how to respond to the experimental nature of her other publications by describing the composition process of her thousand-page novel *The Making of Americans* and remarking that “the appeal of her work is to the ear and to the subconscious” (75). By the end of *The Autobiography*, readers learn that Stein is an essential figure in modernist literature and have clear expectations of her more avant-garde texts. She coaches audiences to not only accept her more experimental work, but to crave it as an essential part of high modernism and culture. In this sense the text is less a memoir than an advertisement for what Stein saw as her legitimate literary projects.

#### *Biography By Remate: Hemingway’s A Moveable Feast*

Like Stein’s *The Autobiography*, Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast* also has a complicated history. The memoir describes Hemingway’s early years in Paris between 1921 and 1926. According to Hemingway’s widow Mary, the text is based on “blue-and-

yellow - covered penciled notebooks and sheaves of typed papers” found in a trunk Hemingway left in at the Ritz hotel in 1927. Upon rediscovering the papers in 1956, Hemingway decided “to do something about Paris in the early days.” The resulting memoir was unpublished at the time of the Hemingway’s death in 1961, but the completed 1960 typescript was published by his wife Mary Hemingway in 1964.

Though ostensibly about Hemingway’s time with his first wife Hadley “when we were very poor and very happy” (211), *A Moveable Feast* also allowed Hemingway to deliver a “kill shot” to his previous detractors and competitors, most notably Gertrude Stein and F. Scott Fitzgerald who had written and talked about Hemingway unfavorably during their lives; within *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway includes extended scenes of Stein and Fitzgerald that undercut each of the author’s dignities while positioning the young Hemingway as a hero and literary genius. As Brooks Atkinson notes in a 1964 review of the memoir,

It is impossible to read Hemingway’s recollections of life in Paris in the 1920s without regarding this posthumous book as extraordinarily mean...If his portrait of himself acknowledged flaws, his treatment of two friends [Stein and Fitzgerald] might be less sanctimonious. But in both cases, he presents himself as a figure of chivalry who suffers their imperfections patiently.

Michael Reynolds suggests that such meanness was Hemingway’s intent. He describes Hemingway’s motivation for *A Moveable Feast* as a direct response to Stein’s “belittling portrait of Hemingway in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*” (291). According to Reynolds, “Ernest promised himself that when he had nothing else to write, he would produce his memoirs to even up the score” (291).



Such an assessment of Hemingway's intentions for *A Moveable Feast* are consistent with Mary Hemingway's assertion that her husband wrote the memoir intentionally in such a style. In a 1964 interview with the *New York Times* to promote the memoir, Mary says she complained to Hemingway, "It's not much about you...I thought it was going to be autobiography." Allegedly Hemingway responded that it was to be a "biography by *remate*." *Remate*, a term borrowed from jai alai, roughly translates to "to finish" or "to complete" according to Suzanne del Gizzo.<sup>12</sup> Del Gizzo notes, "traditionally *remate* is used to refer to any type of 'kill shot,' a shot so forceful or perfectly placed that it cannot be returned" (122), and indeed *A Moveable Feast* does cut down Hemingway's peers as it lifts up the author's own literary achievements. Though the promotional purpose of the text is not explicit, particularly given that it was published posthumously, there is reasonable evidence to suggest that Hemingway envisioned the book as supplementing his own literary reputation.

### *Destabilizing the Autobiographical "I"*

The explicit self-promotional elements of both Hemingway's *A Moveable Feast* and Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* undermine both texts' historicity. Additionally, each author simultaneously questions the value of historical accuracy as they frame each of their memoirs as sorts of historical fiction. For example, Stein begins *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* by casting doubt on the value of historical accuracy; in her case, such doubt comes from the title and byline of the text itself.

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<sup>12</sup> In the interview, Mary mistranslates *remate* as "a two-wall shot in jai alai. By reflection," but del Gizzo notes that Mary's recollection or translation of the term is inaccurate. Both meanings of *remate* have informed critical readings of the text, but for this reading I will rely on the literal translation from jai alai that del Gizzo notes.

Despite its title, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is neither an autobiography, nor is it really about Alice B. Toklas. Rather, it is a work of creative nonfiction by Gertrude Stein written in the voice of her long-time lover, largely about Stein's own habits, beliefs, and literary career. Phillippe Lejeune describes the narrative technique in *The Autobiography* as a canonical example of the "fictive witness" (42), which he describes as a central part of Stein's self-promotion: "The construction of the fictive 'witness' is ultimately no more than an alibi for the presentation of oneself. This detour by way of witness justifies the 'limitation of the field of vision.' (One is not obliged to talk of what another does not see; one's public image can be molded while leaving all the private image in the shadows)" (43). In other words, Stein's choice to use Toklas as the narrative voice allows Stein to approximate a critical view of her own literary career and present herself as a key literary figure of the period.

However, the fictive witness also represents a violation of the autobiographical pact and openly defies the conventions of autobiography. The fictionalization of Toklas's narrative voice and experiences is no secret; the book was marketed with Gertrude Stein listed as author, and reviews frequently discussed the text's false narrator.<sup>13</sup> Stein is forthright about fictionalizing the life-story of her lover and herself, though *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* was still described and marketed as nonfiction by Stein and by her publishers.

Similar to Stein's acknowledgment of the false narrator in *The Autobiography*, Hemingway begins *A Moveable Feast* with a prologue limiting the scope of the memoir:

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<sup>13</sup> For examples of contemporary reviews of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* that reference Stein's use of Toklas as the narrative voice, see Geoffrey Grigson's February 1934 review in *The Bookman*, Theodore Hall's "Miss Stein Looks Homeward" from 1933 in *The Washington Post*, and "Gertrude Stein's Biog" in *Variety*'s September 19, 1933 edition of *Literati*.

“For reasons sufficient to the writer, many places, people, observations and impressions have been left out of this book. Some were secrets and some were known by everyone and everyone has written about them and will doubtless write more” (1). In these first lines, Hemingway revises readers’ expectations that the book will provide a tell-all of the author’s time in Paris, instead referring to the body of rumors and other memoirs and autobiographies that would no doubt have been common knowledge among his readers. Indeed, by the end of the prologue, Hemingway abandons the presumption of historicity entirely, stating, “If the reader prefers, this book may be regarded as fiction. But there is always the chance that such a book of fiction may throw some light on what has been written as fact” (1). As a result, in the very framing of the text, Hemingway invalidates the importance of historical fact both in his memoir specifically and in the process of uncovering the truth more broadly. The prologue of *A Moveable Feast* makes it clear that facts matter far less than public opinion within the bounds of the memoir.

By working within nonfictional genres like autobiography and memoir while consciously undermining the historicity of their narratives, Stein and Hemingway both lay bare the processes of narrativizing and myth-making at the heart of each project. As various critics have suggested, for Hemingway the process of myth-making was an integral part of the author’s personal identity. Both Jackson J. Benson and John Raeburn note that Hemingway was frequently the subject of elaborate rumors and stories; late in his career, however, the author seemed less willing (or, as Benson suggests, able) to distinguish the mythical Hemingway from the real one.<sup>14</sup> Raeburn states,

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<sup>14</sup> Benson describes Hemingway as “infected” with “the very confusion that has infected the Hemingway reader...Rather than maintain a mental separation between the persons or stages of the creative process [354], there was in him a gradual breaking down of distinctions. He began to believe his day-dreams and their images became real” (356). The tone of Benson’s argument suggests that Hemingway was at least

Because of the myriad of untruths which almost always crept into discussions of Hemingway's life, it soon became virtually impossible to distinguish fact from fiction...it was fruitless for him or anyone else to try to stamp out the legends that clustered around him; they were good stories and seemed to be consistent with his character, so once in circulation they spread quickly and assumed the aura of truth. Indeed, despite his efforts to correct them, it is not inconceivable, and actually probable, that Hemingway himself was the source of many of these legends. (134-135)

*A Moveable Feast* may be seen as part of Hemingway's self-mythologizing, but, as my earlier analysis of the prologue suggests, it also allows Hemingway to scrutinize the process through which fiction can "throw some light" on historical fact (*MF*, 1).

If Hemingway hints at the process of self-narration in *A Moveable Feast*, Stein openly challenges it within *The Autobiography*. As Cynthia Merrill describes, Stein's memoir is "one that exposes and mocks the illusion of a unitary self...By presenting herself in the third person, but writing as Alice B. Toklas, she creates a fiction to reveal a fiction: she exposes the self-division concealed within the autobiographical 'I'" (14-15). Indeed, the Stein represented in the pages of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is, of course, merely a mythologized version of Stein herself. Though Stein does not fully explore the tensions between the "autobiographical I" and the "real I" until *Everybody's Autobiography* in 1937, the ending of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* hints at Stein's process of self-narration when Stein compares the fake autobiography of Toklas to Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (252). Though Stein is literally referring to the simple

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partially unconscious of his self-narration, though other critics (including John Raeburn) have argued that the author openly encouraged rumors about himself that contributed to his author persona.

narrative style of *Robinson Crusoe*, the reference also points to the fictionalization in Stein's own project. *Robinson Crusoe* is an autobiography of a fictional English mariner, suggesting that even though Stein's memoir uses the voice of her real lover, it is just as much a fabrication as Defoe's novel. Indeed, only one sentence later Stein reveals herself as *The Autobiography's* narrator, removing any pretense of historicity in the text.

Reading Stein's and Hemingway's autobiographies as myth-making rather than historicizing unburdens the texts of the need for historical accuracy or objectivity. Instead, as Marc Dolan suggests, we can focus on the "rhetoric of a formal autobiography as 'historical fact' rather than as its content," framing formal autobiography as "a rhetorically constructed account of the relation of narrated past to narrating present within the life of a particular individual" (39). For Dolan, autobiographies are evidence of a simultaneously personal and tribal myth of the self and of a historical period that is valued less for its *historical* accuracy than for its popularity and the coherence of the myth it helps construct (39). From this perspective, it matters less whether the events depicted in the texts are true than it does that contemporary readers in their respective eras *believed* and *treated* the narratives as true. In the case of Stein, readers treated her autobiographies as an insightful guide to authentic expatriate experience. Hemingway's later *A Moveable Feast* helped affirm that narrative of expatriate spaces and create a version of history that was influenced largely by the literary construction of Paris as a space built around modernist celebrity culture.

### **Paris and Claiming the Spaces of Modernism**

Paris appealed to twentieth-century artists for a variety of reasons, ranging from its historical significance to its affordability.<sup>15</sup> However, few expatriates were drawn to the city for its contemporary culture in the 1920s. Indeed, many expatriates on the Left Bank remained disengaged with French ways of life, remaining entrenched in American values and ways of thinking while abroad. As Julie Goodspeed-Chadwick notes, some twentieth-century artists rejected assimilation as a goal of expatriation. Instead, they felt “they should belong in the sense of getting along with the French and observing French culture” while maintaining their own national values and identities (70). Goodspeed-Chadwick points particularly to Gertrude Stein, the famous Parisian expatriate who adamantly retained her American identity and citizenship though she spent the majority of her life abroad (70). According to Stein in her World War II memoir *Paris France*, “Foreigners should be foreigners and it is nice that foreigners are foreigners and they inevitably are in Paris and in France” (Stein 22). Stein suggests expatriation was then a condition of *belonging* within a culture but not *acculturating* to it. As a result, Paris provides expatriates the mental and emotional distance they need to engage in their craft without the cultural influence of their home country; it is a space in which American expatriates “are free not to be connected with anything happening” (Stein, “*An American And France* 68). Such distance enables both stylistic experimentation and the cultural freedom needed to create new forms of art in the twentieth century.

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<sup>15</sup> In his memoir *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, modernist expatriate Malcolm Cowley describes the nostalgia and appreciation some expatriates had for French literary history: “France was the birthplace of our creed...Everything admirable in literature began in France, was developed in France, and though we knew that the great French writers quarreled among themselves...we were eager to admire them all” (103). Though Cowley’s later reflections suggest that this expatriate vision of French literature was largely romanticized, he posits that part of the expatriate motivation for settling in Paris is related to France’s historical literary prestige.

For Gertrude Stein, the development of twentieth-century art was strictly within the purview of expatriates like herself living in France who can make use of the atmosphere of Paris without becoming acclimated to it. For example, in her 1940 memoir *Paris France*, Stein discusses French attitudes about life as diametrically opposed to American industrial sensibilities “because France has scientific methods, machines, and electricity, but does not really believe that these things have anything to do with the real business of living. Life is tradition and human nature” (15). For Stein, these beliefs make Paris the “natural background of the art and literature of the twentieth century” (24), but also bar the French from creating the twentieth century “because all these things being French it made it be their tradition and it being a tradition it was not the twentieth century” (18). In Stein’s mind, it is only foreigners who can harness the creative power of Paris and bring forth twentieth-century innovation.

Stein’s conviction that her expatriation in Paris is responsible for the birth and growth of her twentieth-century art leads her (and other artists like her) to take ownership over Parisian spaces for her own goals. The city is framed as an essential part of artistic production, and therefore its sites and its people are the symbolic property of artists. Hemingway says this perhaps the most succinctly in *A Moveable Feast* while watching a Parisian girl as he writes in a café: “I’ve seen you, beauty, and you belong to me now, whoever you are waiting for and if I never see you again, I thought. You belong to me and all Paris belongs to me and I belong to this notebook and this pencil” (6). For Hemingway, as for Stein, Paris exists for the sake of writers and their art as it provides them both material and a space to exist in isolation with their art. As Stein remarks, “[W]riters have to have two countries, the one where they belong and the one in which

they live really. The second one is romantic, it is separate from themselves, it is not real but it is really there” (Paris France 9-10). For Stein, Paris served this romantic function by providing her a space where, as Goodspeed-Chadwick notes, she could “approach and think about the English language and, consequently, her work in fresh ways” (67).

Similarly, for Hemingway, Paris allowed him to write about his own country and experiences with both new physical and emotional perspectives, remarking that it was only “in Paris I could write about Michigan” (*MF* 7).

The detachment both Stein and Hemingway affect towards Parisian culture ultimately affects the ways they represent those Paris as a space and backdrop of their creative production in their life writing. In both Stein’s *The Autobiography* and Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast*, Parisian spaces are described in relation to American expatriate life and reorganized around American values and needs. In their texts, private spaces of expatriate life are transformed in public sites while public spaces like cafés are dominated by expatriate artists and driven by expatriate needs. For example, in the case of private, within *The Autobiography*, Stein position her apartment at 27 rue de Fleurus as a center of modernist intellectual life. 27 rue de Fleurus takes the place of traditional museums and salons, becoming an outwardly exclusive intellectual space reserved for twentieth-century artists and their admirers. The apartment includes displays of upcoming works from now well-known modernist painters such as Matisse and Picasso, and entry to the apartment is at least partially policed through social connections. As Alice remarks in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, “The idea was that anybody could come but for form’s sake and in Paris you have to have a formula, everybody was supposed to be able to mention the name of somebody who had told them about it” (13). Though Alice



suggests that entry is not as exclusive as the formula initially implies, the consequences of being asked to name an “introducer” to gain entry creates an air of exclusivity and prestige around the expatriate space. As a result, 27 rue de Fleurus, a foreign-owned and -created space, becomes one of the most fashionable locales in Paris, rather than more local and formal cultural institutions.

In terms of public spaces, Left Bank cafés are described predominantly in relation to expatriate desires. For example, in *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway writes, “In those days many people went to the cafés at the corner of the Boulevard Montparnasse and the Boulevard Raspail to be seen publicly and in a way such places anticipated the columnists as the daily substitutes for immortality” (81). He notes how famous cafés like the Dôme are soon filled with “models who had worked and there were painters who had worked until the light was gone and there were writers who had finished a day’s work for better or for worse, and there were drinkers and characters, some of whom I knew and some that were only decoration” (101). Though Hemingway goes on to critique the publicity function of café culture in Paris, he also takes advantage of the cafés as sites of artistic production in which expatriate artists could observe and create twentieth-century art.

In particular, Hemingway focuses on the Closerie des Lilas, his “home café” (92), where he goes to write. In a reversal of Gertrude Stein’s apartment in which private expatriate spaces are made public, Hemingway claims the public space of the Closerie des Lilas for his own private use in “Birth of a New School,” the tenth section in *A Moveable Feast*. “Birth of a New School” begins with Hemingway detailing his writing ritual in the café before describing how well he is able to write within this particular

space: “Some days it went so well that you could make the country so that you could walk into it through the timber to come out into a clearing and work up onto the high ground and see the hills beyond the arm of the lake” (91). The café is framed as the ideal location for artistic production, but the scene is soon interrupted by the intrusion of a fellow writer intent on invading the sanctity of the café.

I argue that Hemingway’s ritual of writing at the Closerie des Lilas and his outrage at the intrusion of another person in the café is actually a deliberate claim of ownership in which Hemingway uses his status as an expatriate writer to assert control over the public spaces of a foreign city. When Hemingway is first interrupted, he berates the intruder, saying, “You rotten son of a bitch what are you doing in here off your filthy beast?” The intruder replies, “It’s a public café. I’ve just as much right here as you have” (92). Hemingway’s anger at a fellow expatriate for abandoning his own “beat” to intrude on someone else’s points to an informal system of ownership in which expatriate writers lay claim to various parts of the city for their own use. As Nicole Stamant notes, Hemingway “collapses the spaces of home and public cafés, negotiating his position as host to visitors in ambiguous or liminal spaces” (74). This is further demonstrated in Hemingway’s resistance to the fellow expatriate’s invocation of the “public space.” Instead of accepting the other man’s equal right to inhabit the café, Hemingway instead thinks,

Now you could get out and hope it was an accidental visit and that the visitor had only come in by chance and there was not going to be an infestation. There were other good cafés to work in but they were a long walk away and this was my home café. It was bad to be driven out of the Closerie des Lilas. I had to make a

stand or move. It was probably wiser to move but the anger started to come and I said, “Listen. A bitch like you has plenty of places to go. Why do you have to come here and louse a decent café?” (93)

Stamant calls the interaction between Hemingway and the failed writer a “boundary crossing” in which a visitor “invades what has been established as the home-space, intruding on the privacy and intimacy of the writing” specifically because of his own lack of literary talent (76). Stamant’s analysis points out a key difference between the intruder and Hemingway; while Hemingway has established his own literary reputation, the intruder is a literary failure. I argue within *A Moveable Feast* this justifies Hemingway’s rudeness and his claim over the public space of the café. As not merely an expatriate but a successful expatriate artist, Hemingway feels justified in asserting authority over a public foreign space.

Both Hemingway’s claim over the Closerie des Lilas and Stein’s assertion of authority over the Parisian literary scene illustrate the process through which Parisian spaces are claimed for expatriate use and the city is reframed as primarily, even exclusively, an expatriate space in which foreigners can cultivate their artistic personas. Additionally, as both authors write about their relationships to these spaces in their work, mainstream American audiences were also encouraged to view Paris through this American lens.

### **Expatriate Modernism and Performative Authenticity**

In the process of developing their artistic personas, expatriate artists on the Left Bank like Stein and Hemingway worked to associate themselves with certain values of authenticity. It was not enough to just be a writer; they needed to be the *right* kind of

writer. The pursuit of authenticity within expatriate art is complicated in part because the concept of authenticity itself resists clear definitions. As Theo van Leeuwen notes, the concept of authenticity seems fairly simple, yet it remains “ultimately an evaluative concept, however methodical and value-free many of the methods for establishing it may be” (392). Van Leeuwen offers various definitions of the term, though he eventually argues the most consistent fact about authenticity is that it “cannot be seen as an objective feature of talk [the object of analysis in van Leeuwen’s work] or of any other form of sociocultural production, despite all scientific and scholarly procedures and methods that have been developed for establishing it” (396). Authenticity, in van Leeuwen’s estimation, is then “concerned more with the moral or artistic authority of the representation than with its truth or reality” (396). In other words, authenticity has little to do with accuracy, but is instead a measure of how well a particular object or identity fits the expectations of the sociocultural context in which it exists.

For the modernists in Paris at the turn of the century, the sociocultural factors influencing authenticity include a general disdain for conventionality. The expatriate movement to Paris within modernism is often characterized as a rejection of American conventions and social norms. Scholars of authenticity, particularly Lionel Trilling, note that for modernists, such norms and conventions were seen as inherently inauthentic. Therefore, “if inauthenticity is everywhere—and in the modernist view it is—one can suddenly become authentic merely by being different” (Müller 30). For many modernists, “being different” manifested in expatriation and the performance of expatriate identity in their literature. According to Timo Müller, “Not only does literature provide and negotiate cultural models of authenticity...it also allows writers on a metadiegetic level,

to present themselves as authentic persons and to negotiate the mechanisms and limits of this self-enactment” (30). In practice, this means modernist authors establish the criteria for authenticity within their literature while simultaneously identifying themselves as authentic producers of modernist literature; Müller calls this the “self-reflexive enactment of authenticity in and through the literary text” (31) in which modernist authors both define and embody authenticity through their work.

Within expatriate Paris, this self-reflexive process is often enacted through autobiographical texts in which authors describe themselves adhering to a set of conventions around authentic expatriate identity. Though various authors in modernism posit their own set of values and conventions for their art and identity through manifestos and other polemical works, modernist life writing reveals a few unspoken practices that defined both the expatriate’s legitimacy as an artist and modern audiences’ perception of the expatriate as an artist. Drawing on the autobiographical work of Hemingway and Stein, I argue for three dominant conventions that make up the role of the expatriate artist: a non-conformist relationship to capitalism, the consumption of the “right” forms of culture and cultivation of relationships with the “right” kinds of people, and the act of writing in isolation. Though Stein and Hemingway each demonstrate these conventions to varying degrees, both authors explicitly tie the conventions to the spaces of Paris and to the artist’s existence in expatriate communities abroad.

Not insignificantly, these conventions are also consistent how Hemingway characterizes the protagonist of his 1924 expatriate novel about Americans abroad *The Sun Also Rises*. As Müller states,

Throughout [*The Sun Also Rises*] authenticity is linked with literary merit, which transforms the abstract concept into a posture with concrete social implications in the literary field...it is Jake [the protagonist] who fulfills these criteria: he has a regular job, works more than his friends both at the newspaper office and, presumably, on the novel he is writing; he preserves a mental distance to the false, bohemian world of the other expatriates, from whose hedonism he is excluded because of his impotence alone; and he reads Turgenev instead of Hudson and Mencken. (Müller 33-34)

As various scholars have noted, Hemingway positions Jake as an exception to the false and inauthentic versions of expatriate exhibited by other characters in the novel. In the novel, Jake is the only truly virtuous and authentic expatriate and is also the only true artist. The fact that Hemingway uses many of the same characteristics he uses to describe Jake to describe himself as an author in *A Moveable Feast* suggests Hemingway's desire to construct himself as an equally authentic and legitimate artist figure in the eyes of his audience, a desire that is mirrored in other expatriates of the period, including Stein.

#### *Non-Conformist Relationship to Capitalism*

Within expatriate communities at the turn of the century, material wealth became part of the conventionality that American modernists sought to escape. Similar to how many modernist expatriates rejected traditional gender roles and conservatism as they moved abroad, many also rejected American capitalism and at least the *idea* of commercial success as an aspiration. Instead, artists outwardly privileged the idea of living for one's art and outside of traditional commercial markets. Lionel Trilling connects this particularly to the twentieth-century shift away from sincerity and towards

authenticity. As Trilling notes, money is associated with the material rather than human; in the modernist view, money “is the principle of the inauthentic in human existence” (Trilling 124). As a result, in the pursuit of an authentic modernist persona, many modernist artists cultivated non-traditional, even antagonistic, relationships to capitalism and mass markets.

For Hemingway, performative poverty provides a means to gesture towards authenticity. Within *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway treats poverty as a virtue and asset to creativity, acknowledging the inconvenience of scarcity while simultaneously asserting his superiority over wealthy people:

I knew how severe I had been [about money] and how bad things had been. The one who is doing his work and getting satisfaction from it is not the one the poverty bothers. I thought of bathtubs and showers and toilets that flushed as things that inferior people to us had or that you enjoyed when you made trips, which we often made... We thought we were superior people and other people that we looked down on and rightly mistrusted were rich. (*MF* 50-51)

Even more significantly, Hemingway argues that poverty creates the necessary conditions for engaging with and creating modernist art. In one section of *A Moveable Feast* titled “Hunger Was Good Discipline” (69-77), Hemingway describes in great detail how hunger enables him to observe modern paintings more astutely, noting how they were “sharpened and clearer and more beautiful if you were belly-empty, hollow-hungry” (69), and how hunger made him a truer artist by keeping him from sacrificing anything that may benefit his art. Drawing on the trope of the starving artist, Hemingway treats hunger as a necessary part of his authenticity: “Hunger is good discipline and you learn

from it. And as long as they do not understand it you are ahead of them” (*MF* 75).

“Them” in this case appears to refer to Hemingway’s contemporaries whom he repeatedly characterizes in *A Moveable Feast* as superficial artists, not the least because of their desire to eat and live comfortably.

His performance of poverty is also linked to the physical spaces of Paris as some artists demonstrate their rejection of financial success by living and associating themselves with parts of the city that embody poverty; for example, Hemingway notes that his address at 74 rue Cardinal Lemoine “could not have been a poorer one” (35). His descriptions of his small two-room flat show the place as shockingly spartan, with “no hot water and no inside toilet facilities” and a mattress and springs sitting on the floor (37). Despite the appearance of destitution, however, Hemingway characterizes the flat as “cheerful” and “gay,” insisting that even the antiseptic container used as a toilet was “not uncomfortable to anyone who was used to a Michigan outhouse” (37). The juxtaposition of Hemingway’s initial descriptions of his modest lodgings and his own satisfaction with them forecasts the final line of *A Moveable Feast* in which he describes his early years in Paris as the “days when we were very poor and very happy” (211). As *A Moveable Feast* was published decades after Hemingway’s time in Paris and after his divorce to his first wife Hadley, many scholars have dismissed the romanticism Hemingway employs in the memoir as mere nostalgia, but I argue the connection Hemingway draws between happiness and destitution is equally related to his investment in authenticity. In contrast to his contemporary, Gertrude Stein, whose richly-furnished apartment at 27 rue de Fleurus was a destination for many young expatriate artists, Hemingway associates himself with material poverty of the rue Cardinal Lemoine in order to establish himself as



intellectually and artistically wealthy. By identifying the modest flat as his home and the site of his writing practice, he distances himself from the inauthentic values some modernists associate with material wealth and instead positions himself as a starving artist.

In contrast to Hemingway, Stein's relationship to capitalism is quite different. Though Stein describes the poverty of her fellow modernists, remarking that most of the artists she associated with "were living more or less precariously, no one starved, some one always helped but still most of them did not live in abundance," Stein generally characterizes herself as middle class. Unlike Hemingway for whom poverty provided social legitimacy, Stein instead leans on her purchasing power to cultivate a nonconformist relationship to capitalist systems. As an art collector of means and unusual taste for her time, Stein is able to use her money to support avant-garde artists and elevate their work through her weekend salons. Throughout *The Autobiography*, Stein describes her art purchases as nonconformist, even directly antagonistic toward the opinion of the larger public. In one case, for example, Stein is enticed to buy Matisse's *La Femme au Chapeau* after seeing the audience mock it in a Paris salon. She writes, "The show had a great deal of freshness and was not alarming. There were a number of attractive pictures but there was one that was not attractive. It infuriated the public. They tried to scratch off the paint. Gertrude Stein liked that picture" (34). The disapproving crowd provokes Stein to buy the painting, as "it upset her to see them all mocking at it. It bothered her and angered her because she did not understand why because to her it was so alright" (35). The painting is later displayed in her famous atelier where "little by little people began to come to the rue de Fluerus to see the Matisses and the Cézannes" (41). By using her

wealth to purchase unappreciated and avant-garde art, Stein distinguishes herself as above the interests of the broader markets as an advocate and patroness of modernist art.

*Cultivation of Relationships and Appreciation of Authentic Art*

In addition to their relationships with capitalism, both Stein and Hemingway assign immense value to relationships with significant people in Paris and to the appreciation of cultural artifacts which have been labelled as authentic within expatriate communities. Both authors reference several prominent celebrities in Paris within *A Moveable Feast* and *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. Though occasionally these celebrity figures are part of extended sketches within the autobiographies (i.e. Hemingway's sections on Stein and on F. Scott Fitzgerald and Stein's various stories about Picasso), often famous authors and artists are only mentioned briefly or listed to show the breadth of the Parisian art scene and each author's status within it.

In *The Autobiography*, for example, Stein spends the early portions of the book providing detailed stories of her interactions with Apollinaire, Picasso, Matisse, and Sherwood Anderson. These early stories position her as a key actor in the birth of modernism and associate her with early avant-garde artists. However, as *The Autobiography* continues, her references to other famous figures become shorter, until in her final section, "After the War—1919-1932," paragraphs often read like lists of names, giving the impression that Stein remained at the center of modernism and in contact with both established and up and coming artists as the movement developed. Taken together, the variety of references to famous figures within the text build on Stein's economic relationship with expatriate modernist communities as an avant-garde art collector. Additionally, such associations help characterize Stein as a significant and well-

connected artist and help to support her claim to authenticity in the modernist movement. *A Moveable Feast* also includes many similar references that have a comparable effect on Hemingway's own claims to authenticity. Both authors' show their place in a larger community of expatriates by illustrating their relationship to other notable artists in Paris, a trend that is echoed across the careers of various modernist expatriates at the time. Within modernist expatriate communities, there was sense of celebrity surrounding many modernist artists that was deliberately created and encouraged by many modernists themselves as a way to increase their public appeal and access to publication avenues.<sup>16</sup> Positioning oneself within the modernist celebrity community was as much about economics and personal networking as it was about appearing as an authentic artist.

In addition to associating with authentic artists, both Stein and Hemingway are equally concerned with appreciating authentic cultural artifacts and using the artistic work of others to supplement their own artistic development. Stein explicitly justifies her habit of purchasing paintings by claiming they influence her writing. For example, in *The Autobiography*, Alice explains the significance of a particular Cezanne portrait, stating "in looking and looking at this picture Gertrude Stein wrote *Three Lives*. She had begun not long before as an exercise in literature to translate Flaubert's *Trois Contes* and then she had this Cézanne and she looked at it and under its stimulus she wrote *Three Lives*" (AABT 34). Throughout *The Autobiography*, Alice describes the collection of paintings Stein purchases and displays, making the apartment on the rue de Fleurus as a sort of

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<sup>16</sup> There is substantial critical work on the modernist cultivation of celebrity status and the relationship between modernism and celebrity culture. For examples, see Karen Leick's *Gertrude Stein and the Making of an American Celebrity*, Rod Rosenquist's "Modernism, Celebrity, and the Public Personality," Timothy Galloway's *Writing Celebrity: Stein, Fitzgerald, and the Modern(ist) Art of Self-Fashioning*, Aaron Jaffe and Jonathan Goldman's edited collection *Modernist Star Maps: Celebrity, Modernity, Culture*, and Jonathan Goldman's *Modernist Literature and the New Celebrity Studies*.

modernist museum of significant and authentic art; Stein as the owner and curator of the collection is then marked as equally authentic by virtue of her taste and purchasing power.

Hemingway's self-described poverty prevents him from laying claim to authenticity in the same way as Stein, despite her urging that he should buy clothes or pictures (*MF* 15). Instead Hemingway turns to literary culture as his source of authenticity. He provides lists of authors and works throughout *A Moveable Feast* that he reads both "to keep [his] mind off writing sometimes after [he] had worked" and to help him learn about writing as a practice (26). The list varies greatly but includes his contemporaries (i.e. D. H. Lawrence and Aldous Huxley), as well as more established writers like "the Russians" (i.e. Dostoyevsky and Tolstoi) (134). While Stein uses an appreciation of modernist paintings as a gauge of authenticity in her apartment, Hemingway employs his appreciation for various authors as a marker of authenticity for himself. For example, he attributes a great deal of value to the work of Dostoyevsky and Tolstoi. Hemingway remarks that Dostoyevsky wrote "things believable and not to be believed, but some so true they changed as you read them" (133), echoing Hemingway's own expressed desire in *A Moveable Feast* to "write one true sentence" (12). Additionally, his appreciation for Tolstoi's descriptions of war forecast Hemingway's own later success in writing war narratives in *A Farewell to Arms* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (*MF* 133). By connecting these attributes to the Russian literature he reads in the early twenties, Hemingway constructs a literary pedigree for his later success, creating an image of himself that is at least as authentic as Dostoyevsky or Tolstoi.

Additionally, Hemingway's claim to authenticity through his literary interests is equally tied to Parisian spaces, specifically to Sylvia Beach's bookstore, Shakespeare and Company. Sylvia and Shakespeare and Company are mentioned eleven times in *A Moveable Feast*, connecting Hemingway and his literary education to a key location in the expatriate artistic community. Though the multiple references to Beach in *A Moveable Feast* are certainly part of a longer list of famous personalities used to bolster Hemingway's credibility and authenticity, the references to the famous bookstore owner seem more substantial than a simple name-drop. Beach is especially famous as the first publisher of James Joyce's controversial novel *Ulysses* (1922), and as the various references to Joyce in *A Moveable Feast* demonstrate, Hemingway was well aware of the prestige attached to Joyce's career and to Beach, by association. His frequent references to her shop and to her generosity in providing him with books to advance his career serve to support Hemingway's claims to authenticity as a modernist author in Paris.<sup>17</sup>

### *Writing in Isolation*

The final dominant convention is the act of writing in isolation. The value attributed to isolation as a facet of expatriate authenticity seems surprising given the equal importance assigned to professional relationships and membership in esteemed expatriate communities, yet isolation, particularly in the creation of modernist art, is often described as a crucial part of the writing process for both Stein and Hemingway. Indeed,

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<sup>17</sup> Importantly, both Hemingway and Stein's tendency to connect themselves other celebrity modernists as a way to assert authenticity anticipates the process later critics (i.e. Clement Greenberg, Theodor Adorno, and the New Critics) would use to develop the high modernist canon. The same networks of influence modernist authors used to build their careers and find publication outlets would later be used to develop anthologies and courses of study on modernist literature, illustrating the overwhelming influence the modernist cult of celebrity had both in its time and on critics' later understanding of the movement.

the act of expatriation itself includes a certain level of isolation and estrangement.

Edward Said attributes this in part to the dialectic relationship between exile and nationalism, with nationalism relying on group identity that is then lost in the experience of exile. Said explains that “[nationalism] affirms the home created by a community of language, culture and customs; and, by so doing, it fends off exile, fights to prevent its ravages... Nationalisms are about groups, but in a very acute sense exile is a solitude experienced outside the group: the deprivations felt at not being with others the communal habitation” (176-177). Though Said predominantly focuses on victims of political exile (i.e. Dante, Adorno, etc.), he acknowledges that expatriates “may share in the solitude and estrangement of exile” as they choose to live apart from their own nation, even if they do not experience the “rigid proscriptions” of banishment (181). This appears to be the case for many American expatriates living in Paris who, despite their large expatriate communities, relied on literal and linguistic isolation as part of their writing process.

For Hemingway, the isolation is physical; in the first section of *A Moveable Feast* he describes a small room he rents near his apartment that is designated explicitly as a space in which he can work, and he also frequently describes his solitary time in cafés where he works alone, inside himself. As he describes his work in the Place St.-Michel, “I entered far into the story and was lost in it. I was writing it now and it was not writing itself and I did not look up nor know anything about the time nor think where I was nor order any more rum St. James” (6). Moments like these can be found throughout *A Moveable Feast*, particularly when Hemingway describes his writing process. Though he finds inspiration and mentorship within expatriate communities, he writes alone and

resents any interruptions (as the incident in “Birth of a New School”, detailed above, illustrates). Hemingway’s meticulous descriptions of his isolated writing process in the lesser known cafés of Paris are contrasted with his disdainful descriptions of the principle cafés where people “love to be seen by others” (100); the contrast serves to separate Hemingway from the mainstream expatriate experience and characterize him as a writer in exile, even as the streets of Paris are crowded with other expatriate artists.

Stein also uses physical isolation as part of her writing process, including her “habit of writing at night...[to] be sure that no one would knock at the studio door” (41) and “making sentences” during her long solitary walks through Paris (49). However, Stein’s isolation is more linguistic than spatial, as she places a great deal of emphasis on the isolation she feels in writing and speaking English while living abroad. Given her status as a long-time resident in Paris, Stein is often viewed as a supporter of French culture; however, in *The Autobiography* Alice notes, “I was surprised never to see a French book on her table, although there were always plenty of english ones, there were even no french newspapers” (70). Hemingway also remarks in *A Moveable Feast* that “when [he] knew Miss Stein she did not like to read French although she loved to speak it” (27). Stein explains her refusal to read French texts as an attempt to be left “more intensely alone with my eyes and my english” (AABT 70). In *The Autobiography*, Stein differentiates her physical existence as a resident in Paris who speaks fluent French from her literary life as an Anglophone author:

I feel with my eyes and it does not make any difference to me what language I hear, but I don’t hear a language, I hear tones of voice and rhythms, but with my eyes I see words and sentences and there is for me only one language and that is

english. One of the things that I have liked all these years is to be surrounded by people who know no english...I do not know if it would have been possible to have english be so all in all to me otherwise. And they none of them could read a word I wrote, most of them did not even know that I did write. No, I like living with so very many people and being all alone with english and myself. (70)

This passage highlights the linguistic isolation Stein affects by living as an expatriate. She specifically places herself outside the “community of language” Said identifies in nationalism (176), and she explicitly makes isolation part of her literary life, if not her social life.

As the passage above suggests, expatriation is key to her isolation and isolation is in some ways key to her expatriation. In Stein’s mind it is not enough to simply write in physical isolation (as Hemingway does), but rather she must also isolate herself from the culture and language of both foreign and national spaces to create her own authentically original work. By being “alone with her english” in Paris and physically separated from the United States, Stein gains what Said calls an “originality of vision” by being aware of at least two cultural homes at once and having “an awareness of simultaneous dimensions” (148). Therefore, by affecting isolation in her writing and reading processes, Stein is able to produce art that is both provocatively original and “authentically expatriate” (in her understanding at least) in its formulation.

However, while the three conventions detailed above provided highly visible markers of authenticity to distinguish “real” artists from the rest, such conventions were largely affected, a performance of expatriate lifestyles that created and supported the myth of the expatriate artists abroad. For example, though Hemingway extensively



discusses the condition and social value of poverty for the expatriate writer in *A Moveable Feast*, in reality the American expatriate's notion of poverty was a far cry from actual destitution.<sup>18</sup> Stein also illustrates this when describing Matisse's atelier. She notes that a Hungarian student in the atelier wanted to pose as a model to help pay for his tuition, but he was refused. He was later "found eating the bread for rubbing out crayon drawings that the various students left on their painting boards" (66). Stein compares the extremity of the Hungarian's poverty to one of the American students who, "under the plea of poverty was receiving his tuition for nothing and then was found to have purchased for himself a tiny Matisse and a tiny Picasso and a tiny Seurat" (67). As this example demonstrates, American poverty in Paris was quite indulgent. Indeed, even Hemingway remarks on his ability to save for luxuries and frequently travel throughout Europe despite his claims of destitution throughout the memoir (*MF* 101, 125).

Additionally, the scorn both Hemingway and Stein show for the mainstream success of their work is expressed simultaneously with their concern for selling their work and cultivating a celebrity persona for American audiences. Hemingway describes a large ledger in which F. Scott Fitzgerald keeps an account of money he receives for his work, "noted as carefully as the log of a ship" (179). The final section of *The Autobiography* includes frequent mentions of Stein's publication history and prospects, including the "childish delight amounting almost to ecstasy" that Stein took in seeing her book in a shop (243). Even Hemingway, the staunchest critic of commercial success, complains in *A Moveable Feast* that it hardly matters if he can write great stories since no

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<sup>18</sup> Indeed, according to Mary Hemingway's account of Hemingway finding his notes from the 20s, the trunks that contained the notes had been stored at the Ritz since 1927, implying that Hemingway stayed there at least once during his early days in Paris.

one will buy them (71). The preoccupation with commercial success and monetary gain, along with the relative wealth of American expatriates compared to their Parisian peers, undercuts the performance of poverty many expatriate artists used to support their own authenticity.

The other conventions are equally performative and set in contrast to the reality of expatriate life. Though both Stein and Hemingway emphasize the importance of friendships with authentic artists for the sake of one's own artistic development, in reality most of their relationships were tied up in issues of market and social capital.

Hemingway is critical of Stein in this respect as he notes, "In the three or four years that we were good friends I cannot remember Gertrude Stein ever speaking well of any writer who had not written favorably about her work or done something to advance her career except for Ronald Firbank and, later, Scott Fitzgerald" (*MF* 27). Despite his criticism of Stein, however, Hemingway seems equally guilty of forming relationships for his own professional gain; at the time of its publication, several reviews of *A Moveable Feast* remark on cruelty of Hemingway's gossip about fellow writers and the ways in which Hemingway emerges as one of the only virtuous figures of the period.<sup>19</sup> Such reviews equally undermine the idea of isolation as both Stein's and Hemingway's books are filled with famous figures that support both of their careers. Though the act of writing may be performed in isolation, both Hemingway and Stein benefited immensely from a community of editors and publishers that enabled them to develop and distribute their work. The use of isolation was self-imposed in comparison to the condition of exile that

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<sup>19</sup> See Harry Golden's "A Removeable Feast" in the *Chicago Daily Defender* (1964), Brooks Atkinson's "Two Dishes of Poison in 'A Moveable Feast' in the *Chicago Tribune* (1964), and Frank Kermode's "Hemingway's Last Novel" in the *New York Review of Books* (1964).

critics like Said discuss; both expatriate authors could choose to emerge from their isolation when it was beneficial to their work, but the idea of the artist in exile was important to them as an aspect of their authentic artist personas.

The motivation for performing authenticity is tied explicitly to social capital and the ways in which authenticity could be used for social and economic gain. As Timo Müller notes, “As one of the last ideals that had survived into modernism, authenticity could confer upon the social actor a degree of authority (social capital) hardly available in other areas. It became a character trait many wanted to have, especially among the alienated intellectual avant-garde, which gave rise to the paradoxical idea of posturing as authentic” (31). Performing authenticity served a dual purpose. Within expatriate enclaves, the appearance of authenticity provided artists access to privileged social circles that could facilitate the publication and proliferation of their work. Hemingway’s relationship with Gertrude Stein and Sylvia Beach is evidence of this. Both Stein and Beach helped Hemingway form professional relationships that would later advance his career, and their help was motivated in part by Hemingway’s performance of himself as an authentic modernist artist.

Outside of Paris, however, authenticity played a different role by helping create a celebrity culture around expatriate artists. The appearance of authenticity links authors like Stein and Hemingway to particular movements (and, by extension, markets) and gained them a level of legitimacy in the eyes of American audiences. Authenticity in this sense served as a marker of what audiences were willing to pay for. As Trilling notes, “As we use [authenticity] in reference to human existence, its provenance is the museum, where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art are what they appear to

be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them—or, if this has already been paid, worth the admiration they are being given” (93). In the expatriate context, however, it is the author rather than the art that is judged as authentic or not, and the authenticity of the artist imbues their art with equal legitimacy. Therefore, in the Parisian context, authenticity has tangible economic implications for expatriate artists, and the market capital associated with a particular form of authenticity for expatriate artists led to the perpetuation of the myth of expatriate identity abroad. As expatriate artists gained social status through the performance of the aforementioned conventions of authenticity, they reinforced those conventions as a legitimate part of expatriate culture and simultaneously authorized a sort of mythic expatriate archetype at the center of the Paris art scene. This myth of the expatriate artist engages audiences of expatriate art in a specific construction of Paris as an expatriate space framed for international voyeurism.

### **Reception Abroad and the Cult of Expatriate Celebrity**

The effectiveness of the expatriate myth depends on public recognition and popularity of expatriate art abroad, but many previous modernist scholars argue there was a divide between modernist art and mass consumer culture. One of the most influential studies on the high/low cultural divide between modernism and the public is Andreas Huyssens’s *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture and Postmodernism*. According to Huyssen, “Modernism constituted itself through a conscious strategy of exclusion, an anxiety of contamination by its other: an increasingly consuming and engulfing mass culture” (vii). For Huyssen, the divide between modernist art and popular culture was both deliberately constructed by modernist artists who marketed themselves as above mass culture and later canonized by academics who favored experimental

writing and avant-garde work over mass culture research. The exclusivity of modernist publications like *The Little Review* and *BLAST* lend credence to this idea since the circulation of these magazines was often limited to literary circles. Additionally, Huyssen credits the persistence of the high/low cultural divide in the latter half of the twentieth century to critics such as Adorno and Greenberg who sought to “save the dignity and autonomy of art work from the totalitarian pressures of fascist mass spectacles, socialist realism, and an ever more degraded commercial mass culture in the West” (ix). However, as Mao and Walkowitz point out, the divide between modernism and mass culture was increasingly challenged by late twentieth-century critics like Huyssen and Frederic Jameson.<sup>20</sup>

In more recent years, cultural critics and modernist scholars have further developed the connection between modernism and mass culture. Recent scholars such as Karen Leick and Bryce Conrad explicitly link modernist experimentation and the avant-garde to both popular markets and growing celebrity culture both in America and abroad. In particular, Leick points to the public consciousness surrounding modernist art despite the narrow circulation of modernist publications. Leick describes how various American newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s included weekly columns on literary releases and important work produced by modernist authors (“Popular Modernism: Little Magazines and the American Daily Press”). Though she notes that modernist artists were derided as obscure and nonsensical as often as they were praised, their names and work still became part of the public consciousness. According to Leick, “These readers [of mass market newspapers] constituted a literary ‘imagined community,’ to use Benedict Anderson’s

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<sup>20</sup> See Jameson’s “Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture” (1979).

phrase, a culturally informed American public that in the 1920s would have known why some readers admired (and others derided) the work of Joyce or Stein” even if most Americans had never read either author’s work” (“Popular Modernism: Little Magazines and the American Daily Press” 127).<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, the connection between modernism and mass culture goes beyond public recognition of modernist art; it also includes the prestige associated with *knowing* about modernist art. Similar to the social capital conferred on artists who demonstrated authenticity, interest in the avant-garde carried social value for Americans wishing to demonstrate their literary acumen. As Leick notes, “mainstream Americans considered reading not an elitist pastime, but an essentially democratic one. Books appealed to individuals from all cultural backgrounds, since reading was an affordable source of entertainment and a sign of culture and sophistication” (“Popular Modernism: Little Magazines and the American Daily Press” 137). Mainstream publications such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Vanity Fair* took advantage of this social capital by marketing modernist works as an integral part of a reader’s cultural education. Bryce Conrad provides an example of such manipulation of the American literary audiences, discussing *Vanity Fair*’s publication of Gertrude Stein’s more stylistically obscure work with the title “An Utterance from the High Priestess of Cubist Literature.” The title helped affirm the literary value of Stein’s poetry for the general public. According to Conrad, “The very fact that most readers would regard Stein’s abstract word play as incomprehensible meant

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<sup>21</sup> There is also evidence that some modernists, including Gertrude Stein, were invested in cultivating a public persona for mainstream audiences. As Alyson Tischler notes, “Stein had hired several clipping services to comb newspapers for articles that mentioned her name, and hundreds of clipping that contain imitations of her writing style are held in Yale University’s collection of Stein’s archival materials” (12). Tischler states that Stein had these clippings stored “with the same care as the manuscripts of her own work” (14) suggesting that the cultivation of fame was, in Stein’s view, closely related and of equal importance to her artistic production.

that many readers would be less than willing to rely on their own judgment of the work's literary value, a value that *Vanity Fair* endeavored to construct and prescribe" (221). Conrad likens *Vanity Fair*'s title and analysis of Stein's work to a "sales proposition" in which consumers are invited to either appreciate Stein (and by extension, her many modernist protégés from Hemingway to Picasso) or miss out on modernist high culture entirely (222). Public interest in modernism as a movement, as demonstrated by *Vanity Fair*'s commentary as well as the popularity of other reviews of modernist work, helped to form a growing celebrity culture that mythologized authors and artists who placed themselves at the center of the movement.

Unsurprisingly, both Conrad and Leick use Gertrude Stein as an example of the effects of this celebrity culture. Though many critics have largely considered Stein an obscure author who never achieved widespread mainstream success in her lifetime, more recent scholars argue for Stein's popularity in mass culture. In particular, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* helped establish her as a cultural icon and American representative of the literary elite in Paris. Though Stein was already a household name in the US prior to the publication of *The Autobiography* thanks to newspaper literary supplements (Leick, "Popular Modernism: Little Magazines and the American Daily Press" 137),<sup>22</sup> the memoir solidified her place at the heart of the expatriate art scene and helped transform Stein from a modernist artist into a celebrity personality.

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<sup>22</sup> According to 'Karen Leick, though the popular belief is that *The Autobiography* led to Stein's fame, "the reverse is nearer the truth; it was because Stein was a household name that *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* became a best seller" (137). Indeed, Stein's apartment was featured in a 1923 photo supplement in the *Times* discussing notable famous people. The caption read "THE AUTHOR OF 'TENDER BUTTONS' AT HOME IN PARIS: GERTRUDE STEIN, Who Has Given English Words a New Value and Meaning, in Her Studio, on the Walls of Which Hangs the Portrait of Her Painted by Picasso" (Leick 130). Such features suggest Stein was already an established figure for American audiences long before *The Autobiography*'s release in the 30s.

*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is considered a landmark work in Stein's career, particularly as its success prompted the famed expatriate to return to the US for the first time in thirty years. As noted above, Stein viewed *The Autobiography* as a form of self-advertisement, a way to introduce audiences to her more avant-garde works. Initially, it was relatively successful at promoting Stein's other publications; even Ellery Sedgwick, the *Atlantic* editor who had previously refused to publish Stein's poetry, notes, "All the new fans are running to the bookstores to ask about your other works, and then an explosion is apt to occur" ("Gertrude Stein and *The Atlantic*" 127). However, though she seemed to have built a market for her more obscure work, it was Stein's persona rather than her writing that appealed to American audiences most. In the wake of *The Autobiography*, publishers wished to capitalize on Stein's success, encouraging her to write another memoir and to tour America, which she did from 1934 to 1935. However, though the tour was incredibly successful at strengthening Stein's public image, with her arrival in the US announced in lights in Times Square (Rosenquist 442), it did not result in enduring sales for her other work. As Conrad points out, the audience Stein had captured in *The Autobiography* largely abandoned her successive experimental writing. Conrad specifically references Stein's first text after her return to Paris, *The Geographical History of America, or the Relation of Human Nature to the Human Mind*, which "sold poorly and received only handful of reviews, virtually all of which dismissed the text as unintelligible" (232). The public response to *The Geographical History* echoes earlier critiques of *Tender Buttons* and demonstrates that it was Stein's celebrity rather than her literature that appealed to an American audience.



The commodification of Stein's persona through *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is far from an anomaly in modernist literature. As Rod Rosenquist notes, "Celebrity and modernism developed in tandem largely through modern developments like increased urbanization, through the introduction of technologies, including cinema, radio and other global communications and also through new patterns and manipulations of communication flow" (438). Celebrity culture and various forms of mass media that help promote it are partly responsible for the success of modernist literature (i.e. the ability to self-publish, self-promote, and circulate one's work), but are also part of the culture against which modernism asserted itself. Additionally, as Rosenquist observes, autobiography as a popular modernist genre increases the focus on subjectivity, personality, and the author as character, thereby revealing "connections between the [modernist] aesthetic and the contemporary cultural structure of the celebrity field" (440). Stein is just one example of a modernist author using self-image to manipulate the markets of mass consumerism and ultimately falling victim to them. Indeed, Hemingway experienced a similar objectification when his attempts to advertise his public personality in his autobiographical fiction and non-fiction essays led him to be characterized as "someone who was much more than a writer' indeed it often seemed, as someone who was only incidentally a writer" (Raeburn 146). In essence, Stein and Hemingway, along with many other modernist life writers, succeeded in selling the modernist artists, but not modernist art.

Though the celebritization of the modernist persona is not specific to modernist expatriates, the cult of celebrity surrounding modernists had different stakes for those living and creating abroad because it fetishized not only the expatriates themselves but

also expatriate spaces in Paris. Autobiographies from the Left Bank were particularly popular in the early twentieth century including Cowley's *Exile's Return*, Beach's *Shakespeare and Company*, and, of course, Stein's *Autobiography*, to name just a few. Such texts were celebrated for providing everyday Americans access to the grandeur of the expatriate lifestyle. Indeed, when *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* was released, many reviewers remarked that the memoir is as much about the culture of the Parisian expatriate scene as it is about either Stein or Toklas. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* describes the book as "more truly the life story of Gertrude Stein and of the modern movement in the arts (literature and graphic arts)," <sup>23</sup> while the *Washington Post* describes the content of the memoir as spanning "remarkably honest insights into these writers and artists; there are passages which explain clearly the growth of several modern movements in art and literature, and lastly, scattered here and there, are Gertrude Stein's own comments on her own work, its purposes, its methods, its achievements." <sup>24</sup> While such reviews certainly supported the public image of Stein, even more so they focused on the artistic culture of which she placed herself at the center. Stein is merely one example of modernist authors attempting to use memoir as a vehicle for self-creation and instead constructing an image of expatriate culture and the expatriate myth as a whole.

As Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* demonstrates, the *myth* of the expatriate came to supersede the fame of any individual expatriate; the myth transformed into a cultural phenomenon in which every day Americans acted out the values and lifestyle of the expatriate archetype. In his own memoir *Exile's Return*, Malcolm Cowley argues that this new myth of the expatriate even supplanted previous American myths of

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<sup>23</sup> "Gertrude Stein Is Pleased with Success in U. S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1933.

<sup>24</sup> "Miss Stein Looks Homeward," *The Washington Post*, 1933.

capitalism: “Nobody even felt the need for inventing an American god, a myth to replace that of the businessman; instead the exiles invented the international myth of the Lost Generation” (95). Cowley uses Hemingway’s early work to describe the cultural influence of expatriate culture, noting,

By that time [the late 20s] Hemingway’s influence had spread far beyond the circle of those who had known him in Paris. The Smith College girls in New York were modeling themselves after Lady Brett in *The Sun Also Rises*. Hundreds of bright young men from the Middle West were trying to be Hemingway heroes, talking in tough understatements from the sides of their mouths. (225-226)

As the passage suggests, Hemingway’s influence not only reaches beyond those who knew him, but also beyond Hemingway’s individual public persona. Expatriate behaviors moved from the pages of novels and autobiography into the public sphere, with American audiences acting out the personalities of expatriate characters. As Cowley describes, this sort of reenactment of the expatriate archetype began on American soil, but quickly spread abroad as readers sought to replicate the adventures described in expatriate literature. Texts like *The Sun Also Rises*, Stein’s *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, and various other expatriate memoirs served as invitations to expatriate Paris, prompting American tourists to flock to the Left Bank.

### **Tourists Descend: The Americanization of Paris**

In the years following World War I, the United States was positioned as an economic stronghold; for European nations whose land and workforce were damaged by the war, the United States functioned as a creditor, helping them pay their debts and rebuild their nations (Costigliola 111-112). According to Frank Costigliola, “Washington

officials realized that America's reputation for success and efficiency, coupled with its lack of interest in most European political rivalries, gave the nation a subtle but important moral authority in the Old World" (Costigliola 168-169). On a political level, this allowed the United States government to assert increasing political power in European affairs to advance American interests, while on a social level America's economic dominance abroad made Europe a desirable and, more importantly, attainable escape for a growing number of middle-class Americans.

As a result, American tourism to Europe surged from roughly 15,000 American visitors in Europe in 1912 to 251,000 in 1929 (Costigliola 172-173). Like the expatriates in the immediate aftermath of World War I, many American tourists in the 1920s were motivated by the freer cultural climate of many European nations and favorable exchange rates. France remained one of the most popular tourist destinations throughout the period. According to Costigliola, "France in 1926 attracted foreigners who picked up bargains as the franc fell. Americans commonly asked waiters and shopkeepers, 'How much is that in real money?' A few even papered their train compartments or luggage with franc notes" (173). The economic accessibility of Paris enabled Americans to vacation on the Left Bank and indulge in the kind of lavish nightlife that would have been out of reach to them in overpriced American metropolises like New York. Jimmie Charters, a famous barman at the Dingo in the 1920s, describes his clients as "largely English and Americans with plenty of money to spend, and parties often went on for three days without sleep or rest" (Cody 12). Such seemingly endless revelry and excessive consumerism are characteristic of American culture in Paris where American spending peaked in 1929 at \$137 million, "creating an American economy in Paris" (Costigliola 173).

Thanks to Americans' growing economic advantage over their European counterparts, Paris quickly transformed from expatriate enclave to thriving tourist destination as transatlantic travel led American tourists to outnumber American residents in the city at a ratio of ten to one (Cannon 50). By the mid 1920s, thousands of Americans made the trek to Paris over the summers to experience the freedom of Parisian life that they had read about in popular novels like Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* with roughly 400,000 American tourists arriving in France each summer (Cannon 43). According to Charters, by 1925, "[t]he number of tourists and onlookers became disproportionately high. Too much advertising had turned the spontaneity of 'la vie de bohème' into a huge commercial success" (Cody 4). American celebrity culture had framed Paris as home to the modernists with a thriving artistic community of American expatriates populating Paris's Left Bank. The celebrity mystique that surrounded prominent expatriate American artists like Gertrude Stein and Ernest Hemingway in Paris exposed middle class Americans to the possibilities of a world free from the constraints of the dollar and Prohibition; this led to widespread consumerism as American tourists sought to replicate the exotic and artistic indulgences of American expatriate life.

Within the tourist surge of the 1920s, it is important to note that it was American expatriate culture, not French culture, that most appealed to American tourists. This may, in part, be attributed to Americans' desire to remain conspicuously American while abroad. As Nissa Ren Cannon notes, Americans were actually substantially outnumbered by intra-European immigrants, but "the American community was made visible by the fact that they brought the comforts and institutions of home along with them" (35). Americans abroad were committed to consciously demonstrating their American identity,

using American products and media to signal their national affiliations to both other tourists and to French locals. Various critics have described the booming market of American commodities, services, and social clubs that characterized 1920s Paris, noting that “[t]ransplants could worship at several denominations of American church; patronize American doctors, dentists, lawyers, and even undertakers; and join local chapters of organizations including the American Dental Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and American automotive business group” (Cannon 35).<sup>25</sup> The growing demand for American businesses and products resulted in what Costigliola calls a “dynamic process” of economic and cultural exchange: “As Europe became more Americanized, more tourists felt comfortable vacationing there. Similarly, Europe’s Americanization stimulated demand for U.S. exports, which in turn enhanced the prosperity that financed tourists’ trips to Europe” (172). Within this dynamic process, however, it is still predominantly the Americans who benefit both culturally and economically.

Though material culture was perhaps the most economically visible result of Americanization in Paris, equally notable is the ideological influence Americans had on Parisian spaces via journalism and the enforcement of cultural norms. For many Americans vacationing and living abroad, it was not enough to simply consume American goods; they must also carve out space in Paris for American cultural identity. This ideological performance of cultural identity took form in American-specific

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<sup>25</sup> For more on American consumer culture in Paris, see Nancy Green’s *The Other Americans: Businessmen, Countesses, Wayward Youth, 1880-1941*, Mary McAuliffe’s *When Paris Sizzled: The 1920s Paris of Hemingway, Chanel, Cocteau, Cole Porter, Josephine Baker, and Their Friends*, pp. 155-160, and Frank Costigliola’s *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933*, pp 170-175.

newspapers published in Paris. Such papers were targeted publications, written in English, and focused explicitly on American culture in Paris. They included “news of home, news of the colony, and news of Paris, along with international news, financial reports, sports updates, comics, and that big news item then as now, the weather: resort weather, Paris weather, world weather” (Green 39). The everyday content and accessibility of such publications made them a cultural staple for the American colony and helped acclimate American tourists and expatriates to life abroad by identifying American culture as a central part of the Parisian experience.

Paris editions of American newspapers represented a significant part of American literary output in Paris, aiming to capture a broad audience of American transplants. Though the content of such newspapers was far more banal than that of literary magazines like *Broom* and *transition*, their cultural impact on American transnational identity is arguably as substantial. To start, such newspapers helped construct an American-centric view of the city as a physical space. American papers were largely funded by advertisements for English-speaking businesses in Paris, and according to Cannon, such advertisements served a vital function for Americans living or visiting the city by creating “points on a map of expatriate Paris distinct from the French city, sites where Americans knew to find one another” (41). As Cannon notes, “This common geography was not just articulated by the paper, but also materialized by it: Anglophone publications in Paris provided reading rooms for customers to gather in, generally located in the neighborhoods where the readers lived” (41). In essence these papers helped map a version of Paris that was exclusively for American use.

Additionally, the papers also served an ideological function as they “transported patriotic affiliations overseas” (Cannon 35) and helped American travelers stake a claim to Paris via rhetoric. A large part of this claim involved portraying American identity as uniquely transnational, an identity as relevant and powerful in Paris as it is in the United States. This was accomplished in part through the papers’ implicit focus on American travel. As Cannon notes in her analysis of the Paris edition of the *Chicago Tribune*, “The sheer mass of touristic advertising, and the different modes and means of travel on display in the paper, is indicative of readers assumed to be consummate travelers: not content with simply crossing the Atlantic once, but continually on the move” (40). Cannon remarks that thirty percent of the *Tribune*’s Paris edition was dedicated to travel, in contrast to only three percent in the Chicago edition of the same paper. By characterizing Americans as a people on the move, newspapers like the *Tribune* equally characterize Americans as at home anywhere, effectively “extending the nation’s imaginary boundaries” and “making visible the presence of the nation untethered by national borders,” a transnational reimagining of Benedict Anderson’s imagined community through periodicals (Cannon 38). In Paris, the creation of a visible national community within the boundaries of the city led Americans to claim a sort of sovereignty over the spaces they inhabited.

Few places were as marked for American sovereignty and consumption as Montparnasse, the center of expatriate café culture. Several critics have written about the importance and influence of café culture on the modernist aesthetic and popular culture in



the 1920s,<sup>26</sup> and the area also features prominently in life writing and biographies of American transplants of the time.<sup>27</sup> A great deal of the American tourist experience in Paris centered around café culture as cafés provided a space that seemed mutually beneficial for all American transplants; they offered what Mary McAuliffe describes as “cultural dynamism” for expatriate artists while also providing a “freewheeling night scene” for more temporary American visitors (93). Additionally, both groups benefitted from the culture’s primary function, escapism. As Jimmie Charters describes in his memoir:

Physically Montparnasse was little more than a gray and dull street holding a broken double row of cafés, but in spirit it was stronger than home or religion, the ultimate of the social reaction to the war. Whoever had troubles with his parents or his wife, whoever was bored with the conventions of stability, begged or borrowed money to come to Montparnasse, led on by a promise of complete escape (Cody 7).

As Charters’ description suggests, by the 1920s American tourists came to view France and Montparnasse as a sort “holiday playground” quite unlike nineteenth-century era of “elitist cultural tourism” (Stokes 28). In the interwar period, Montparnasse became a space for Americans where even “highly respected and stable citizens” could go “completely berserk” without fear of social or economic repercussions (Cody 102). This was in part because of the permissive air popular culture had cast on the quarter as well

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<sup>26</sup> See Donald Pizer’s *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment*, Mary McAuliffe’s *When Paris Sizzled: The 1920s Paris of Hemingway, Chanel, Cocteau, Cole Porter, Josephine Baker, and Their Friends*, and Jeffrey Jackson’s “Artistic Community and Urban Development in 1920s Montmartre.”

<sup>27</sup> See Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast*, Janet Flanner’s *Paris was Yesterday, 1925-1939*, and Morrill Cody’s *This Must Be the Place: Memoirs of Montparnasse by Jimmie “The Barman” Charters*.

as the economic advantage Americans had over the French after World War I. Together, these factors allowed Americans to dominate Montparnasse and demand that it cater to all their desires.

The economic dominance and growing number of American expatriates and tourists in Paris had permanent effects on the city, as Americans began to treat the cafés almost like private spaces, structured for their own personal use. According to Charters, cafés “really took the place of the American living room” as social spaces where fellow Americans could socialize, each picking up their own tab (Cody 7, 8). Also similar to private living rooms, cafés like the Dingo, the Falstaff, or the Jockey were largely isolationist, catering almost exclusively to American tastes. By the mid 1920s, cafés increasingly tailored their aesthetics and offerings to American customers. Mary McAuliffe describes how cafés like the Dôme and the Sélect renovated to reflect modern American attitudes, replacing bistros with American-styled cocktail bars, and some cafés, including the Dingo, began offering American menus with items like hamburgers and chicken fried steaks (156). Such tangible changes to the café aesthetic in Montparnasse clearly identified the quarter as an American space within the French capital.

In addition to these sorts of physical alterations, the influx of American tourists and American income had even more troubling ideological effects. One of the more obvious ideological shifts in Montparnasse was linguistic. As several critics including Mary McAuliffe and Melvyn Stokes have noted, many American tourists spoke little to no French, even as they spent an increasing amount of time in Paris. As a result, cafés wishing to capitalize on American tourist dollars began hiring English interpreters to work at their new American bars (McAuliffe 156, Cody 74), and waiters and shopkeepers

were encouraged to use English as their lingua franca (Stokes 28). Even French business owners who regularly interacted with American tourists were made to feel foreign in their own establishments through linguistic isolation; Jimmie Charters provides “Poor Old Man Dingo” as an example of a Frenchman who “didn’t know what it was all about. He spoke not one word of English, yet ninety percent of his clients spoke no French...Night after night he wandered among the tables, smiling at his clients, watching the cash drawer, and pinching himself now and then to make sure he wasn’t dreaming” (74-5). Though Charters is quick to point out that Old Man Dingo made a fortune from American tourists visiting his bar, the price the bar owner must pay for economic prosperity is linguistic exile even within his own business.

In addition to linguistic dominance, Americans had even more troubling sociocultural influence on French culture, especially in regard to race relations. Both Mary McAuliffe and Melvyn Stokes note that many white Americans insisted on enforcing racial segregation in public spaces while abroad. According to Stokes, “They objected to having to meet and socialize with black people in nightclubs, bars, restaurants, and cabarets. The summer of 1923 witnessed a series of racial incidents. There were a number of fights between white and black Americans when the former tried to throw the latter out of bars in Montmartre” (28). The issue grew as Americans continued to impose their racial attitudes on black Frenchmen, with regular clashes occurring “between white American tourists and Frenchmen of color” including a “case of a small group of Americans who had refused to travel around Paris in the same tourist bus as a group of black French officer-cadets from Fréjus” (Stokes 30). Unlike in the United States, racial segregation was against “traditional French ideals of equality, dating

back to the Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789) during the French Revolution,” so many French locals reacted negatively to American attempts to impose their own racial biases (Stokes 38). In fact, racial tensions eventually lead the French government to ban the American film *Birth of a Nation* in 1923 as a way to symbolically express French disapproval of American racial attitudes.<sup>28</sup> Despite public opposition to American values, however, Stokes also notes that many bar owners remained sympathetic to American desires for a color line in French cafés, especially as café owners continued to benefit from the patronage of American tourists (38). In the case of both linguistic dominance and racial attitudes, the economic advantages of adapting to American desires were framed as worth the loss of local aesthetic and even national values.

Though several French institutions and people resisted American influence abroad,<sup>29</sup> American transplants continued to assert ideological supremacy while living in and visiting Paris, and as the examples above demonstrate, such supremacy often

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<sup>28</sup> The film was actually banned twice in France, first in 1916 and again in 1923. The 1916 ban was the result of a change in the law regarding films premiered in France that dictated all films shown in France must be awarded an official visa (a form of wartime censorship). While most short films were given visas without contest, feature films could be denied on the basis of containing “even incidentally violent or dubious deeds” that could “influence in any manner whatever the ‘Sacred Union’ [of France at War]” (Stokes 21). *Birth of a Nation* was first banned on these grounds, with racial politics likely playing a secondary role (Stokes 22). The film was finally issued a visa in 1922 and was publicly distributed in 1923 when it received overwhelmingly positive reviews (Stokes 22).

According to Stokes, most French film critics saw the initial ban of the film as a “misuse of government power” but the second ban was likely influenced by a far more complex constellation of factors. Stokes describes the context of the second ban as resulting from “five different but overlapping circumstances: the emergence of mass American tourism; the existence of a community of black people from the French colonies who now lived in Paris; the broader concerns of the French government over national security and the nature of the French colonial empire; the exigencies of French domestic politics; and increasing French postwar hostility to the United States” (27).

<sup>29</sup> For examples of French resistance to Americanization, see “Chapter 6: The Americanization of Europe in the 1920s” in Frank Costigliola’s *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* and Melvyn Stokes’s account of the French reaction to American racial violence in Paris from “Race, Politics, and Censorship: D. W. Griffith’s ‘The Birth of a Nation’ in France, 1916-1923.”

manifested in violation against the physical bodies of French locals. In the case of English's growing prominence in café culture, the violation is largely symbolic, with Old Man Dingo deprived of intelligible communication in his own business. In the case of French-American race relations, however, the violation is literal violence against French bodies with American tourists physically confronting French people of color in an effort to impose American values of segregation and racial discrimination.

The physical consequences of American dominance abroad were not entirely outside of American consciousness, either. Indeed, as Hemingway demonstrates in his chapter "Evan Shipman at the Lilas" in *A Moveable Feast*, some American transplants were mindful of the effects the American presence in Montparnasse had on French people and their values. Within the chapter, Hemingway describes an encounter at the Café Lilas with two French waiters, André and Jean. Evan Shipman informs Hemingway that the Lilas is changing management: "The new owners want to have a different clientele that will spend some money and they are going to put in an American bar. The waiters are going to be in white jackets, Hem, and they have been ordered to be ready to shave off their mustaches" (138). Shipman's remark about clientele that will spend money at a new bar clearly points to American tourists like those Charters' describes at the Dingo (Cody 74). However, unlike Charters' account, which unsurprisingly focuses on the economic benefit of the bar's new American clientele, Hemingway focuses instead on the bodily alterations required of the French subjects—they must shave their mustaches.

In the context of the memoir, such a change to Jean's facial hair holds complex social and cultural significance for the Frenchman. Historically speaking, mustaches are

often linked to performative masculinity, though the specific meaning of donning a mustache or maintaining a clean-shaven face has shifted with changes in gender politics. Citing twentieth-century gender codes, historian Christopher Oldstone-Moore explains the mustache functioned to help place men on a continuum ranging from sociable to autonomous. According to Oldstone-Moore,

[A] clean-shaven man's virtue was his commitment to his male peers and to local, national, or corporate institutions. The mustached man, by contrast, was much more his own man: a patriarch, authority figure or free agent who was able to play by his own rules. These were stereotypes, of course, but like most stereotypes, they carried real social power. (48)

Therefore, in Jean's case, being forced to shave his mustache in order to better appeal to American customers is akin to a loss of masculine power and autonomy. In being forced to alter his appearance, Jean both literally and figuratively loses authority over his own body and is placed in a social relationship with a national community that is not his own. Specifically, he is placed in the context of American values as he must shave to match the American aesthetic which desired a clean-shave look due to Americans' "particular enthusiasm for both youthfulness and sports" (Oldstone-Moore 52).

Moreover, Jean's mustache also signifies his military service during WWI. As Hemingway remarks in the passage, Jean's facial hair is a dragoon's mustache, indicating Jean's service in the cavalry during the war. André describes Jean's devastation after shaving by citing his military honors, noting, "[Jean] was heavy cavalry regiment throughout the war. He had the Croix de Guerre and the Médaille Militaire...He was wounded of course but it was the other sort of Médaille Militaire he has. For gallantry"

(140). For Jean, his mustache is as much a symbol of his French military identity as it is of his masculine authority. Jean's loss of his mustache is then exacerbated by the fact that the political repercussions of WWI actually enabled the influx of American tourists in the first place. As Costigliola notes, "there was a direct linkage between America's participation in the Great War and the subsequent economic and cultural penetration of Europe" (172). As mentioned above, Americans were able to travel to France *en masse* because France's war debt had lowered the value of the franc, and American spending and exports helped boost the French economy (Costigliola 172-173). The fact that Jean is forced to shave to attract American customers is then both a strike against Jean's personal autonomy as well as a strike against France's national autonomy in relation to America's growing penetration into European cultural and economic affairs.

Hemingway's account of Jean and André at the Lilas initially seems a biting critique of the American tendency to take control over foreign spaces and cultures. After all, Hemingway urges Jean to resist the new management by refusing to shave. However, the only effort Hemingway and Evan Shipman can muster is to accept Jean's gift of large whiskies, which Shipman calls "a protest. It's a direct action" (139). Though Jean may see his decision to give the American men free drinks as a form of protest, Evan and Hemingway's acceptance of the gift is merely another example of American dominance over café culture. Even at Jean's lowest point, Americans are the only ones there to witness his resistance to American aesthetics and values.

### **Expatriates as Tourists and Tourist Objects**

As the example of Jean at the Lilas in *A Moveable Feast* suggests, the relationship between expatriates and American tourists was often contentious. However, the open

antagonism many expatriates expressed towards the influx of tourists in the mid- to late-twenties is complicated by the fact that it is often difficult to distinguish between expatriates and tourists of the period. As critic Martin Halliwell notes, differentiating between the tourists and expatriates should be straightforward; “tourists tend to be superficial visitors, using guidebooks and maps; their experience is circumscribed by the end of the trip; they tend to rely on other people’s opinions and tastes to form their own.” (57). Expatriates, on the other hand, enter the foreign space without a plan for return. Their time abroad lacks “immanent closure” and, therefore, allows them to more fully engage with the city and with their own process of aesthetic development (Halliwell 57-58).<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, expatriation as a term was less defined in the 1920s; though many view expatriation as a largely permanent existence outside of one’s native country, many of the expatriates in Paris only lived there for a few years, or even a few months.

Nonetheless, expatriates often adamantly defended their position as Paris residents, sometimes using public documents to do so. Nancy Green references the prevalence of *Americans in France* directories that allowed American residents to list their addresses in Paris. Though the directories were meant to help newcomers locate and engage with the American community, they also became a way for expatriates to establish themselves as permanent fixtures of the colony, no matter the length of their stay. Green notes, “According to a sample of the 1925-40 *Americans in France*

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<sup>30</sup> Halliwell actually uses the term exile, not expatriate in his argument. However, he does so to uncover the ways twentieth-century modernists labelled themselves (56). Within his article, Halliwell acknowledges the dissonance between the lived experience of many American transplants in Paris and the state of exile, noting that “the terms that American modernists used to describe themselves and their aesthetics...often strain against artistic practices” (56). In Halliwell’s estimation, modernists termed themselves exiles because it “lent them artistic authenticity and helped to justify their misanthropy” (56). For my purposes, I replace Halliwell’s term *exile* with the more conventional term *expatriate* to more clearly distinguish between the experiences of Americans like Stein and Hemingway and figures like Edward Said and James Joyce, who I will discuss in Chapter 3.



directories, about half of those listed stayed one to two years, and the other half remained three years or more. But by dint of listing themselves at all they seem to have had a sense of settledness” (43). As the directory example suggests, the difference between expatriates and tourists was largely a rhetorical construction. It was the assertion that one is an expatriate, rather than any real type of permanent residence, that set the expatriates apart from the tourists.

Beyond simply claiming one’s status as an expatriate, one of the few things that *did* unite American residents in Paris was “the snobbery verging on contempt with which they regarded the average American tourist” (Allan 10). The intrusion of various leisure-seeking American tourists into Paris was disconcerting for various expatriates who had come to call the Left Bank their home as it resulted in crowds at favorite haunts and altered the public perception of Americans abroad. Some of the expatriates’ disdain stems from the tourists’ exploitation of European exchange rates and economic instability. Malcolm Cowley describes American tourists in the 1920s as “the *Valutaschweine*, the parasites of the exchange, who wandered from France or Rumania, from Italy to Poland, in quest of the vilest prices and the most admirable gangrenes of society” (82). Cowley, like many of his fellow expatriates, saw the tourists as vulgar in their indifference towards traditional European culture, as new American tourists often preferred upscale hotels and nightclubs to museums (Cowley 82).

Additionally, some expatriates, Hemingway in particular, seemed to view the presence of expatriate tourists as an affront to their own claims of authenticity and artistic merit. Hemingway worried that as cafés like the Rotonde increasingly filled with people he describes as “loafers...posing as artists,” the tourist interest in the spectacle of such

poseurs would distract from the accomplishments and work of “real artists” turning out “creditable work” (Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto* 114-115). In Hemingway’s estimation, the growing population of Americans on the Left Bank risked diminishing his own status as a *serious* artist by grouping him with the tourists he viewed with such contempt.

However, though American expatriate artists like Hemingway claimed to despise the influx of tourists each summer during in the late-twenties, many were equally enmeshed in the tourist structure that privileged American economic and cultural interests. Expatriate artists of the early twenties were part of a larger movement of American transnationalism that helped to grow a demand for American exports in France. Though the artists may initially seem outside of the concerns of American commerce, their very presence in Paris helped to drive American economic dominance. As Green notes, “By effect if not intent, the interwar writers formed part of a larger ‘American invasion’ of Europe that was both military and economic before being cultural” (3). While Green uses this assertion to unseat the notion of Left Bank artists as the dominant Americans in Paris in the twenties, her characterization of American economics and business in Paris can also be viewed as connected to the expatriate artists’ desire for publication, their manipulations of celebrity culture, and their occupation of the Left Bank after WWI. Additionally, American expatriate artists functioned as what Malcolm Cowley calls “trade missionaries: involuntarily they increased the foreign demand for fountain pens, silk stockings, grapefruit and portable typewriters. They drew after them an invading army of tourists, thus swelling the profits of steamship lines and travel agencies. Everything fitted into the business picture” (62-63). Though openly critical of

tourists who “followed the dollar” to the streets of Europe, expatriates like Cowley and Hemingway were equally engaged in advancing American economic concerns through their own consumerism.

As an extension of their participation in growing American economic interests, the expatriates were also involved in constructing Paris as a tourist space by both writing about Paris as an ideal location for transatlantic travel and by positioning themselves as tourist objects. Again, Hemingway is a key figure in this construction, as his journalism for the *Toronto Star* in the early 1920s helped sell Paris for readers abroad. In various articles Hemingway wrote for the *Star* in 1922, he criticizes the mistreatment of tourists in Paris by French locals, describing tourist areas of the city as “an artificial and feverish Paris operated at great profit for the entertainment of the buyer and his like who are willing to pay any prices for anything after a few drinks” (*Dateline: Toronto* 117). While this condemnation may initially seem like a criticism of “the buyer”, the American or Canadian tourist who chooses to pay for this false Paris, Hemingway’s other articles in the *Star* provide travelers with information on how to avoid the tourist trap, including detailed advice on how to make the city affordable. In “A Canadian with \$1000 a Year Can Live Very Comfortably and Enjoyably in Paris,” Hemingway cites the favorable exchange of the dollar as “a very effective key” to getting one’s money’s worth in the city (*Dateline: Toronto* 88). In effect, while Hemingway openly disdained guidebooks and tours, he effectively writes guides to the city in his work, providing the means for less experienced travelers to access the expatriate version of Paris.

Even in his later memoir *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway occasionally positions himself among the tourist milieu, helping to frame café culture as a spectacle for the

tourist gaze. In another article for the *Toronto Star* from 1922, Hemingway describes the American expatriate artists who occupy the Café Rotonde as akin to performers, playing the roles of artists and transforming the café into a “showplace for tourists in search of atmosphere” (*Dateline: Toronto* 114). Decades later, however, in *A Moveable Feast* Hemingway replicates their artistic performance with two young women, newly off the boat from America. The women express a desire to “see some of that café life” after seeing Hemingway’s café outfit (124). Rather than ridicule their desire to commodify his work and space, Hemingway takes down their address and promises to call them and show them the quarter. In agreeing to act as both tour guide and tourist object for the women, Hemingway becomes a performer similar to artists at the Rotonde, presenting himself for the tourist gaze.

Hemingway’s obsessive discussion of his disdain for tourist culture in Paris and his participation within it is likely indicative of his own precarious status as an expatriate in comparison to long-term residents of the city. Indeed, in contrast to Hemingway, Stein, who lived in Paris most of her life, does not discuss American tourist culture after World War I at all in *The Autobiography*. The influx of tourists every summer was likely more noticeable to her as she had lived in Paris since 1903 when there were less than 20,000 American tourists in the city a year (Costigliola 172-173). However, rather than focus on tourists exclusively, Stein talks about the *general* surge of Americans during the interwar period without distinguishing between tourists and new expatriates. In collapsing the two categories, Stein characterizes young writers like Hemingway as simply another part of the tourist project.

The conflation of new expatriates and temporary Parisian tourists may seem surprising for Stein at first, since it is in contrast to Hemingway's own assertion of independence from the tourist trend, and both seem motivated by similar needs to establish themselves as an authentic modernist writer. However, for Stein her authenticity as a writer is deeply intertwined with her role as a central piece of the expatriate and tourist life. Unlike Hemingway who was compelled to set himself apart from the other young artists of his generation, most of whom lacked social and literary status, Stein relies on her age and long-time status as a key figure in the American colony to position herself as a matriarch to new expatriates and tourists alike. She characterizes the interwar period in Paris as a time when "[t]he old crowd had disappeared...we began to meet new people all the time" (193-195). For Stein, the influx of new people into the city provides her with new disciples and, as a result, new avenues for publication.

Stein's refusal to distinguish the likes of Hemingway from more transient tourist figures in Paris offers an alternative understanding of modernist expatriation as little more than extended tourism. Expatriates like Hemingway may have seen themselves as uniquely situated in Paris as residents, but for Stein such young artists are hardly permanent fixtures (indeed, by the time *The Autobiography of Alice B Toklas* was published in 1933, Hemingway had been out of Paris for almost five years). However, as Stein socially and economically benefits from the matriarchal relationships she forms with expatriate writers, she seems unwilling to either dismiss them as tourists or count them as her equals as Parisian residents. Instead, they become students of her literary greatness. This is how she characterizes Hemingway, remarking in *The Autobiography*, "I have a weakness for Hemingway. After all he was the first of the young men to knock at

my door and he did make Ford print the first piece of *The Making of Americans*” (215). Stein’s economic gains from her relationships with fellow expatriates and participation in the tourist spectacle in Paris illustrate the complicated and inextricable relationship between the modernist expatriate project and early twentieth-century tourist culture in Europe.

## **Conclusion**

As two paradigmatic figures of expatriate modernism, both Stein and Hemingway immensely benefitted from the changes American mass tourism wrought on both the city and its people. In their fiction and life writings, both authors constructed a vision of the expatriate myth and, by extension, the Parisian expatriate lifestyle that both advertised Paris as an attractive tourist destination and positioned the expatriate artist as an essential part of Paris as a space and cultural landmark. Additionally, the widespread availability of American goods, the shift towards American values in many mainstream Paris establishments, and the constant stream of American consumers on the Left Bank provided both Stein and Hemingway with an audience of readers, eager for yet another taste of the expatriate lifestyle. In this sense, the modernist project, its artists, and its literature, are complicit in the violations of the French body and the modifications made to the city to appease Americans.

HURRAY FOR THE FOREIGNERS!": HEMINGWAY, SPAIN, AND THE  
TOURIST PROJECT IN *THE SUN ALSO RISES*  
AND *FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS*

Educated, he thought. I have the very smallest beginnings of an education. The very small beginnings. If I die on this day it is waste because I know a few things now. I wonder if you only learn them now because you are oversensitized because of the shortness of the time?

—Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*

By 1922, the expatriate scene in Paris was well established, with the Left Bank serving as the metropole for a growing population of foreigners looking to become artists abroad. However, as the community of expatriates in Paris grew, some expatriates found the city's growing popularity too much to bear. Ernest Hemingway in particular began to resent the "extreme provinciality of the French people" that made Paris "the Mecca of the bluffers and fakers" ("The Mecca of Fakers" 119-120), and disliked many of the expatriate artists who populated the city.<sup>31</sup> He writes in a March 1922 article to the *Toronto Star Weekly*,

You can find anything you are looking for at the Rotonde—except serious artists. The trouble is that people who go on a tour of the Latin Quarter look in at the Rotonde and think they are seeing an assembly of the great artists of Paris. I want to correct that in a very public manner, for the artists of Paris who are turning out creditable work resent and loathe the Rotonde crowd....[I]f the exchange ever gets back to normal [the Rotonde crowd] will all have to go back to America. ("American Bohemians in Paris a Weird Lot" 114-116)<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Toronto Star Weekly*, March 25, 1922

<sup>32</sup> *Toronto Star Weekly*, March 25, 1922

The proliferation of expatriate culture in Paris seemed to cheapen the experience for Hemingway by transforming the individuality and “authenticity” of the expatriate artist into a clichéd identity rooted in the cafes and salons of the Left Bank.

While many expatriates like Gertrude Stein, Sylvia Beach, and Sherwood Anderson formed established communities in Paris, Hemingway pulled away from the metropole in an effort to reclaim the generative power of expatriation that many expatriates found conducive to creativity. As Ewa M. Thompson states in “The Writer in Exile: The Good Days,” the “intellectual myth...of the suffering author-in-exile” ignores the fact that many authors’ careers have benefited greatly from writing outside of their home countries. Thompson notes, “It appears that in the twentieth century exile tends to empower writers in a variety of ways. First, it stimulates their creativity by providing them with a new and generally benevolent environment. Second, it tends to increase and diversify their audiences. Third, it enables writers significantly to influence their foreign audiences” (499-513). Though Thompson predominantly refers to political exiles, she also mentions self-exile (i.e. expatriation) as equally fruitful. We can see the benefits of expatriation played out in the modernist period in particular, with numerous modernist writers producing their best work while living and working abroad. According to Donald Pizer, expatriation had an indelible impression on modernist artists: “A writer may or may not turn to his recent move from Chicago to New York or from the city to the suburbs for the subject matter of his next novel, but few authors could escape the impact of expatriation on their attention. So deeply felt was the act of self-exile that it seemed to demand translation into meaning and form” (74). This certainly seemed the case for



Hemingway as most of his major works were composed while he was abroad (Herlihy-Mera, *In Paris or Paname: Hemingway's Expatriate Nationalism* 58).

However, as hordes of expatriates flooded Paris in the 1920s, it became harder for Hemingway to perform the role of a writer in exile on the Left Bank. In an effort to escape what he perceived as the banality and provinciality of Paris, Hemingway left in 1922 to make the first of many trips to Spain. He was soon captivated by both its scenery and its cultural rituals (Baker 109-110). His 1922 trip began a decades-long infatuation with the country which provided a seemingly endless source of creative inspiration the author would draw on throughout his career. Though Hemingway was only one of several writers (including John Dos Passos, George Orwell, and Gertrude Stein) who were enamored with the culture and setting of Spain, it is Hemingway's relationship to the country that is most entrenched in both the scholarship and in public consciousness. The association between Hemingway and Spain can no doubt be partially attributed his continual use of the country as a setting in his work,<sup>33</sup> but Jeffrey Herlihy-Mera also points to "Hemingway's identification with Spanish people and the 'Spanish self' which he constructed by mimicking their socio-cultural practices in language, gastronomy, and sports" (*In Paris or Paname: Hemingway's Expatriate Nationalism* 76). According to Herlihy-Mera, "These social trials in writing, speaking, and acting on Spanish themes accumulated over several decades and eventually reached a point when, at least in his own mind, Hemingway was a contributing member of Spanish society" (78).

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33. Spain serves as the setting for four of Hemingway's major works, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), and *The Dangerous Summer* (1960); his only play *The Fifth Column* (1938); his co-created documentary *The Spanish Earth* (1937); and several of his most famous short stories.

Spain offered an untouched, creative refuge to the young author. Indeed, Edward Stanton remarks that during Hemingway's first visit, the author found Spain "“very big and very bare” to him, but he got used to it quickly. Soon he thought it was ‘unspoiled and unbelievably tough and wonderful,’ the only country left in Europe that hadn’t been shot to pieces”” (15). Set in contrast to Paris, the loud and densely populated metropole, Spain offered Hemingway an unadulterated location to reassert his self-exile. Stanton notes, “The shock that Ernest felt that spring of 1923 in Spain [his second trip to Spain and first to the fiesta of San Fermín] was almost as great as the one he had known on his first trip to Europe in 1918,” suggesting that Spain provided a revival of the expatriate spirit he first found in Europe (15). For Hemingway, Spain was a space in which he could redefine his own identity and aesthetic as a modernist expatriate.

Hemingway's relationship to Spain has been well-documented in scholarship over the years, with critics often celebrating the author for his engagement and representations of Spanish culture. Among his English-speaking contemporaries, he was viewed as an authority on Spain, while his reception among Spanish locals was more varied, with some ridiculing his cultural posturing and others praising him as a “the most outstanding observer of [Spain] in the modern era” (Castillo-Puche xiv). In either case, Spain functioned in both the aesthetic and spiritual development of Hemingway's fiction, with the country serving “as a vehicle for him to connect with a mystic realm or ‘a natural world unspoiled by modern technology and civilization’” (Herlihy-Mera, *In Paris or Paname: Hemingway's Expatriate Nationalism* 76). Such observations focus on the Spanish influence in Hemingway's creative process, romanticizing the author's experiences. Unlike Paris, with its established community and conventions, in Spain

Hemingway began to rethink expatriation as a form of authentic cultural engagement rather than merely a translation of American values into a European setting. Hemingway highlights the difference in these two forms of expatriation in his two Spanish-set novels, *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, both of which center on an American expatriate who enters into a local community in Spain, in contrast to other foreigners who invade and corrupt the local culture.

However, while the both of these novels set up a dichotomy between the authentic expatriate protagonist and typical foreigners from the expatriate metropole, such portrayals stand in contrast to Hemingway's own lived experience in Spain. Though Hemingway believed himself to be an insider in Spanish culture, his time there was relatively brief. While the author visited Spain frequently between 1922 and his death in 1961, his visits never lasted more than a few months, and he never took up residence there the way he did in Paris or Cuba (Castillo-Puche 371-388). In this sense, I argue that Hemingway's time in Spain is perhaps best described not as expatriation but instead as tourism, a description that can be extended to his Spanish novels.

By reading two of Hemingway's Spanish novels, *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, as tourist texts, we uncover a crisis of expatriate identity in which the expatriate endeavors to acculturate in a new space, while his identity as an expatriate remains dependent on his difference from the culture of that space. This reading centralizes the expatriate figure, rather than local culture or plot, and focuses the novel around the expatriate's relationship to the foreign space. Furthermore, by understanding the expatriate protagonists in *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as tourists rather than traditional expatriates, we can better recognize their relationship to foreign

space as inherently exploitative and begin to understand the ways in which the act of transnational tourism treats foreign spaces as consumable sites for the benefit of the foreign visitors.

### **Establishing a Tourist Aesthetic in *The Sun Also Rises***

*The Sun Also Rises* provides a particularly useful example of the significance of spatial relationships in expatriate literature and the modernist aesthetic. As noted above, the novel is one of the paradigmatic expatriate novels that helped to form the myth of the expatriate within the modernist period. In particular, *The Sun Also Rises* focuses on expatriate travel as a touristic enterprise in which characters enter each new locale seeking pleasure, excitement, and escape. Additionally, there is critical precedence for reading *The Sun Also Rises* as a tourist narrative, particularly when it comes to the Paris scenes in Part I of the novel. In her article “Expatriate Lifestyle as Tourist Destination; *The Sun Also Rises* and Experiential Travelogues of the Twenties,” Allyson Nadia Field argues, “Hemingway’s novel with Jake’s detailed itineraries, is indebted to the travelogues that represent the lifestyle of ‘dilettantish Americans’ that Hemingway held in contempt” (33). In particular Field cites Robert Forrest Wilson’s 1924 guidebook *Paris on Parade* that focuses on Paris not as an authentic French tourist destination, but rather as “a cosmopolitan American city unhindered by the restrictions of Prohibition” (Field 31). Field draws direct parallels between the itinerary style of Jake’s narration early in *The Sun Also Rises* and experiential travelogues to argue that Hemingway was actively engaged in depicting the expatriate experience as essentially a tourist experience and “travel as the permanent state of [the novel’s] expatriate protagonists” (33). As Field’s analysis demonstrates, tourist literature offers a useful context for understanding

*The Sun Also Rises* because it helps us understand Hemingway's construction of Paris as a branded space.

Through the tourism studies lens, the early portions of *The Sun Also Rises* become a critique of the insular attitudes that characterized expatriate Paris after WWI. The interactions between Jake and the other expatriates in the novel are described in ways that seem quintessentially American in the context of the novel. The Parisian expatriate community in the novel is remarkably separate from local Parisian culture. Everyone seems to know everyone else, and even unfamiliar faces (like Georgette and the Braddocks) are quickly familiarized as they become identifiable as part of the expatriate community. Within this insular community, and perhaps because of it, experience of French culture is limited and often looked down upon. Even when the experience is positive, the delight taken in Parisian culture is reduced to novelty and is limited to the insular community of expatriates. For example, while listening to the American Mrs. Braddocks converse in French in a café, Jake notes, "in the excitement of talking French [she] was liable to have no idea what she was saying" (26). Essentially, her experience of French culture is more a performance of acculturation rather than an actual cultural exchange. These scenes and Field's analysis suggest Hemingway set out to critique the Parisian version of expatriation and expatriate travel as superficial and disengaged from local culture.

However, while Field's work frames Paris as a tourist destination, she largely avoids reading the Spanish scenes in Parts II and III of the novel in the same context of tourism. Indeed, until recently there has generally been resistance to reading Hemingway's time in Spain and his writings on Spain as anything other than genuine

cultural engagements. However, Jeffrey Herlihy-Mera notes in his article “‘He was sort of a joke, in fact’: Ernest Hemingway in Spain,” that Hemingway’s personal devotion to Spain and its culture was not reciprocal. In fact, “[w]hile English-language circles often celebrated Hemingway as a Spanish insider and a don of bullfighting, Spaniards of his own time and ours disagree about Hemingway’s understanding of *toreo* and things Spanish in general” (90). Herlihy-Mera notes that Hemingway’s excursions in Spain were relatively short and spread out, preventing the author from ever breaking out of the “honeymoon period” of transnational travel. Herlihy-Mera quotes tourism scholars Eckerman et al. to describe this honeymoon period characterized by “‘euphoria, enchantment, fascination, and enthusiasm’ during which visitors are still innocent of negativity about the realities of life in the new place” (85). According to Eckerman, et al.’s analysis, Hemingway’s time in Spain was too brief for him to begin the process of acculturation; instead, Spain remained a “perpetual paradise” (85) that the author believed himself a part of, while in reality his Spanish experiences and those he depicts in his novels are remarkably similar to experiences advertised in tourist brochures.

By understanding Hemingway’s relationship to Spain as a continual honeymoon period framed around “specific social demographics—male, upper-middle-class *torreros*, *aficionados*, and their affiliates, figures who often represent conservative sectors of Spanish society” (Herlihy-Mera, “‘He was sort of a joke, in fact’: Ernest Hemingway in Spain” 86), I argue we can extend Field’s reading of Paris as a tourist space in *The Sun Also Rises* into the Spanish portions of the novel. In the Spanish scenes, transnational travel prompts reflections on the crisis of expatriate identity and its effects on foreign culture by defining expatriate characters in relation to foreign spaces. Within *The Sun*

*Also Rises*, characters are defined through their relationships to both the city square and the Hotel Montoya in Pamplona. Together these two locations offer spatialized representations of the cultural exploitation inherent in expatriate travel. By interrogating the ways in which the values and identities of expatriate characters are projected onto these two settings, we can see how Hemingway transforms European spaces into consumable tourist products for the benefit of foreigners.

The construction of Spain as a tourist space is most clearly seen in the preparation of the city square for the fiesta. As the expatriates enter into Pamplona, local Spaniards reconstruct the town square as a tourist space for the bullfights only to return it to its “real” state after the foreigners leave. The construction and performance of the tourist space during the fiesta illustrates the influence of expatriates on the city’s culture and economy. In the novel, there are parallel scenes of the city square before, during, and after the fiesta that raise questions about who the fiesta is for and what is lost or gained in how the space is constructed for foreign consumption. Before the fiesta, Jake Barnes notes that “there was no change yet” (154) over the center of town; the square is still unremarkable and untouched by the tourist spectacle of the fiesta. Images of the quiet square with only a few motor-buses and pigeons, a man watering the gravel, and a quiet café with pleasant diners drinking responsibly show a pure city, the *real* city.

After the fiesta begins, however, Jake notes, “everything became quite unreal and it seemed as though nothing could have any consequences” as the images he provides earlier are transformed into spectacle (158). The quiet square is filled with people and buses. The single man watering the gravel is replaced with a religious procession, peasants from the country, and dancers. The calm café of peaceful diners morphs into a

“battleship stripped for action” filled with foreigners drinking in excess (157). During the fiesta the “real” square becomes a tourist space, crafted for the enjoyment of foreigners, some of whom don’t even recognize themselves as such. This is made especially clear during the opening parade of the fiesta:

The banner danced up and down with them as they came down surrounded by the crowd.

“Hurray for Wine! Hurray for the Foreigners!” was painted on the banner.”

“Where are the foreigners?” Robert Cohn asked.

“We’re the foreigners,” Bill said. (158)

The inability of the visiting expatriates to recognize themselves as foreign illustrates the appropriation of European cultures for the entertainment of expatriate communities.

Though expatriation is often understood as the loss of self or loss of nation, as the expatriates in *The Sun Also Rises* demonstrate, it is more accurately a sort of cultural blindness in which American expatriates seem unaware of their own subjectivities and their appropriation of foreign spaces. They understand that the fiesta is made for their benefit but are unable to see themselves as out of place in the space. Indeed, in a fiesta that is filled with tourist-cars and foreigners that are easily absorbed into the crowd, it is the “peasants in black smocks” that stand out (209). In this moment, the fiesta is transformed from a demonstration of cultural traditions to a commodity that is produced for and consumed by tourists.

Ultimately, the appropriation of the Spanish tradition by foreigners supersedes Spanish identity and culture, replacing them with the universal culture of expatriate debauchery. As tourist scholars Ooi and Stöber note, “[N]ot only does ‘commodification’



and touristification destroy the ‘authenticity: corruption’ of local cultural products and human relations, but a surrogate, covert ‘staged’ authenticity (‘authenticity: as staged’) emerges” (69). Ultimately, the cost of tourism and entertainment is the commodification of the actual culture of the nation and the real people that exist in Spain. This is particularly poignant in the experiences of the peasants at the fiesta. Unlike their expatriate counterparts, the Spanish peasants enter into the festivities cautiously, with a heightened sense of what each indulgence costs them. Jake notes, “They had come in so recently from the plains and the hills that it was necessary that they make their shifting in values gradually. They could not start in paying café prices...Money still had a definite value in hours work and bushels of grain sold” (158). Unlike their foreign counterparts, the indulgences of the peasants at the fiesta come at a price. As their authentic cultural traditions are replaced by the tourist culture of excess, the peasants and their culture are essentially erased.

The running with the bulls exemplifies this cultural destruction when a peasant man, Vicente Girones, is gored to death by a stray bull (200-201). Despite the horror and public nature of the event, tourists are largely unaware of the man’s death. In fact, Jake has to tell Bill and the others of the death as they are too focused on the bullfights to notice. In contrast when Jake tells a local waiter from a restaurant in the square of the goring, the waiter expresses his disgust at the man’s sacrifice, remarking, “You hear? Muerto. Dead. He’s dead. With a horn through him. All for morning fun. Es muy flamenco...Not for me...No fun in that for me” (202). It is later revealed that Girones was a farmer with a wife and children. When the family comes to retrieve the man’s body from the fiesta, the coffin is loaded into a baggage train and “the widow and the two

children rode, sitting all three together, in an open third-class railway-carriage,” contrasting the excesses of the fiesta that killed the man with the simplicity, even poverty, of his private life (202). Girones’s death represents the immense loss that is incurred when the local culture is taken over by the whims of tourists. It is the peasants who pay for the entertainment of the foreign masses. All of these events—the dancers parading with a banner, the surge of crowds, the goring—happen around the town square as the space is transformed from a city center into a theater of excess with the expatriates participating in the act.

After the fiesta ends, the square is reconstructed yet again, and the morphed images of violence and excitement transform back to normal: a quiet café, a man sprinkling the streets with water, and an empty square. However, the quiet square is littered with posters and schedules from the fiesta, and the memory of a peasant man who died during the running of the bulls hangs in the air. The expatriates can no longer buy into the illusion of the pure Pamplona from before the fiesta, and they all leave the city for Paris and Biarritz, more sites designed for their enjoyment. These three paralleled depictions of the square challenge the idea of a “real” or “normal” representation of the space in the novel. The transformations before and after the fiesta highlight how the space is always constructed for the pleasure of those in power (in *The Sun Also Rises*, for the pleasure of the foreigners who can afford to spend money at the fiesta and leave after the spectacle is over), often to the detriment of those who are not.

This reading of the city square as representative of a larger tourist culture of excess is set in contrast to the insider status of the Hotel Montoya, a space associated with the novel’s narrator and protagonist, Jake Barnes. Unlike his fellow expatriates, Jake

is aware of the corrupting influence of expatriates and other foreign tourists on Pamplona. He positions himself above the experiences of others both ideologically and literally as he watches parts of the fiesta from a balcony in the hotel while the others parade around the square (164). Throughout the novel, Jake is frequently associated with the privileged space of the hotel, encouraging readers to view him as more in-touch with the Spanish culture than the other expatriates of the novel. Jake explains that the Hotel Montoya is where “all the good bull-fighters stayed...that is, those with *aficion* stayed there. The commercial bull-fighters stayed once, perhaps, and then did not come back. The good ones came each year” (136). Jake’s ability to get a room at the hotel and his close relationship with the owner Montoya signal Jake’s “insider status” in Spain even as he surrounds himself with tourists. Jake’s appreciation of bullfighting is what motivates his relationship with Montoya and his status at the hotel. Montoya considers Jake an *aficionado*, a rare feat among expatriates as it was “taken for granted that an American could not have *aficion*. He might simulate it or confuse it with excitement, but he could not really have it” (137).

As Herlihy-Mera notes in *In Paris or Paname: Hemingway’s Expatriate Nationalism*, Hemingway attributed great significance to the bullfight and *aficion* as a cultural practice in Spain. Herlihy-Mera specifically points to bullfighting as a social mechanism with specific components that comprise a code “used to measure insider status” (88). He notes, “[c]ombined with the fact that the bullfight is relatively unique to Spain, the strictness and lack of variation in taurine rites make the spectacle an accessible modus for social affiliation...Becoming an *aficionado*...meant attachment to one place, one community, and one society” (88). Hemingway was often called an *aficionado* both

in and out of Spain. His friend José Luis Castillo-Puche remarks, “I personally believe that, from the very beginning, Ernesto had so totally identified himself with the bullfighter that he had an intuitive understanding of the central mystery and the ritual meaning of the *corrida*. He had as profound an understanding of the very essence of bullfighting as any non-professional can ever achieve” (159).

Certainly the author took pleasure in the technical aspects of the *corrida*, but his appreciation had a deeper significance as well. Bullfighting helped Hemingway access Spanish culture and life. As Edward Stanton puts it, for Hemingway “the bullfight had been the magic key that unlocked so many of the secret things in Spanish life...one must go to the bullring in order to understand the Spanish nation and her people” (93-94). Being an *aficionado* set Hemingway apart from his fellow expatriates as it functioned as acculturation. Thanks in part to the *corrida*, Hemingway felt he was accepted in Spain, writing in a 1956 letter to Harvey Breit, “I am considered a Spanish author who happened to be born in America” (*Ernest Hemingway, selected letters, 1917-1961* 873). Hemingway used bullfighting and *aficion* as a way to distinguish himself from the expatriates who still rooted themselves in France. As noted above, by 1922, Hemingway had already begun to resent the “materialism and reduction of everything to cash-value principle” characteristic of expatriate France (Stanton 49). In contrast, Hemingway found the bullfight offered a more spiritual and “authentic” existence.

By making Jake Barnes an *aficionado* as well, Hemingway sets the expatriate apart from the other tourist expatriates like Cohn and instead directly links him to the Spanish culture. Jake’s status as an *aficionado* affords him access to parts of Spanish culture that other expatriates are barred from. Montoya even goes so far as to invite Jake

into the private rooms of Pedro Romero, a talented young bullfighter (166). Jake's access to private areas of the hotel and Montoya's respect and trust of Jake's opinions become a defining part of Jake's character in Spain that separates his form of expatriation from the touristic expatriation of his peers. Jake is associated with the hotel, and therefore stands outside of the spectacle and the culture of excess that takes place in the city square.

However, as the fiesta continues Jake quickly becomes enmeshed in the destructive actions of his fellow expatriates. He uses his insider status to invite other expatriates into the protected and privileged space of the Hotel Montoya and the bullfight. Despite Montoya's earlier warnings about an "American woman down here now that collects bull-fighters" (176), Jake still agrees to help Brett seduce the young bullfighter Pedro Romero (188-191). By helping Brett seduce Romero, Jake gains Brett entry into the bullfighter's private room, perverting the insider privileges Jake was given by Montoya earlier in the novel. Further, Brett's entry into Pedro Romero's room leads to Cohn attacking Romero before the corrida. Jake then provides Brett a seat in the front row of the corrida where she can watch her battered lover perform for her benefit. Both of these events are made possible because Jake invites a fellow expatriate into exclusive local spaces of the Hotel Montoya. Jake's involvement in Brett's affair causes him to lose Montoya's respect; the hotel owner avoids speaking to Jake for the rest of the fiesta (213, 232), signaling to readers Hemingway's intent to show that, by affiliating himself with the other expatriates, Jake loses his insider status in Spain. By inviting expatriates into the privileged spaces of Spanish culture, Jake extends the cultural destruction and exploitation of the city square even further into the most respected parts of local culture;

in this sense Jake is perhaps even more implicated in the tourist enterprise than his peers who are mere spectators.

Reading the Spanish sections of *The Sun Also Rises* as an extension of the tourist narrative previously noted in the Paris portions of the novel significantly complicates the character of Jake Barnes as the exceptional expatriate. While previous readings frame Jake as critical of the superficiality and extravagance of expatriate tourists abroad, if we read the Spanish scenes in *The Sun Also Rises* as part of the same tourist aesthetic, Jake becomes complicit in the same process of exploitation and destruction as his peers. This reading reframes Jake not as an insider to Spanish culture, but rather as a sort of poseur, unable to escape the inherent foreignness of expatriate identity or to assimilate into local culture. Likewise, while Jake is complicit within the narrative itself, American readers are implicated in the tourist spectacle as well through the act of reading. As the novel is written through Jake's consciousness, readers are also allowed to observe the events of the fiesta as foreigners, highlighting the ways in which both the expatriate experience and the narrative forms that represent it are touristic enterprises, continually recreating the exploitative relationships of the tourist space.

### **War as Spectacle: Hemingway, the Spanish Civil War, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls***

Traditional expatriate texts like *The Sun Also Rises* establish a practice for reading the modernist expatriate project as exploitative and touristic at its core. However, though the expatriate relationship to foreign spaces in novels like *The Sun Also Rises* is inherently exploitative, such novels are also self-aware of the exploitation; tourist events like the corrida and the festival are deliberately constructed cultural experiences focused around the foreigners' enjoyment, but expatriate modernism was not limited to such

constructed cultural performances. Rather, expatriates in the 1920s extended their reach into the everyday life and political affairs of foreign cultures as well as into their tourist spaces.

Hemingway's work provides a useful glimpse into the parallels of exploitation throughout the various settings of expatriate life, particularly because of his relationship to Spain. As mentioned above, Hemingway saw himself as deeply connected to the people, land, and culture of Spain, leading him to set several of his works there. As the contents of these texts show, Hemingway's time in Spain includes both tourist experiences like the corrida and festivals in *The Sun Also Rises* as well as political experiences like the Spanish Civil War in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Additionally, all of Hemingway's Spanish fiction shows Spain mediated through the expatriate gaze, with an American expatriate as the central protagonist of each novel. The result is that it is possible to link *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to *The Sun Also Rises* as a continuum of Hemingway's expatriate project in Spain. Such a reading reframes *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as primarily an expatriate novel rather than a war narrative, as it has more traditionally been read. Through this reading, I argue we can see the consequences of expatriate presence in the high-stakes realm of international warfare, as the crisis in expatriate identity that is explicit in the festival and corrida is extended into the warzone. While the exploitative nature of expatriate tourism during the festivals is detrimental for local cultures, in war, such exploitation is often fatal.

*For Whom the Bell Tolls* is the story of American teacher and dynamiter Robert Jordan and his participation in the Segovia Offensive during the Spanish Civil War. Though the novel is broadly considered a war narrative, the text itself focuses

predominantly on Jordan's personal development as he comes to terms with the interconnectedness of all mankind and the inevitability of his own mortality. The focus on Jordan's development is consistent with a trend in modernism in which expatriates participated in foreign wars as a process of self-discovery and the formation of personal identity. In his memoir *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, Malcolm Cowley explains this trend particularly in relation to World War I during which young American writers enlisted in various foreign ambulance corps to experience war and culture abroad. Cowley explains that young writers were driven to foreign service by patriotism, but he clarifies that their patriotism lacked the urgency and consequences of the patriotism of foreign peasants fighting for their own freedom and land. Rather, "[i]t was an abstract patriotism that concerned world democracy and the right to self-determination of small nations, but apparently had nothing to do with our daily lives, nothing to do with better schools, lower taxes, higher pay for factory hands (and professors) or restocking Elk Run with trout." (36-37). Cowley frequently remarks on the distance between the American volunteers and the consequences of war, noting that even amidst the dangers of battle, "these young Americans retained their curious attitude of non-participation, of being friendly visitors who, though they might be killed at any moment, still had no share in what was taking place" (43). Overall, it is clear that the Americans did not join the ambulance corps out of duty or fear, but rather out of a desire to see the world and experience the "great show" of the war (40).

Cowley's observations suggest that participation in foreign wars was less a humanitarian pursuit than an expatriate adventure meant to generate material for future literature. The sheer number of modernist authors who participated in the ambulance



corps supports this notion. Cowley lists twelve writers who were ambulance or camion drivers in 1917 alone, including John Dos Passos, E.E. Cummings, and, of course, Ernest Hemingway (38). Cowley remarks that the French military transport was “perhaps the most literary branch of the army” (38), explaining that as a result of their service, these writers developed a new character: “They made us more irresponsible than ever before...They taught us courage, extravagance, fatalism, these being the virtues of men at war; they taught us to regard as vices the civilian virtues of thrift, caution and sobriety; they made us fear boredom more than death.” (38). Notably, the irresponsibility that Cowley details above mirrors the actions and attitudes that characterized expatriate culture following World War I. Indeed, Cowley’s words could easily be a description of Brett Ashley, Robert Cohn, or Mike Campbell from *The Sun Also Rises*. In essence, the characteristics Cowley describes link expatriate service abroad during World War I and later expatriate culture that was at the heart of the modernist movement in Paris.

Perhaps the most important characteristic Cowley notes, however, is a “*spectatorial attitude*” (38, emphasis his) that framed foreign wars as spectacles designed for foreign consumption. Cowley describes the war, saying “[t]he long parade of races was a spectacle which it was our privilege to survey, a special circus like the exhibition of Moroccan horsemen given for our benefit on the Fourth of July” (38-39). Through this lens, the war spaces of World War I and other modernist era military conflicts are framed as destinations and performances for foreign servicemen, and spectatorship becomes a central part of the modernist war experience. Foreign wars become points of observation as well as revolution. The locations of war are coopted by foreign observers in the literature as places for the modernist subject to uncover some part of their humanity,

shifting the focus from the war itself to the expatriate subject by projecting the expatriate identity crisis onto warzones.

Though Cowley's observations focus on the modernist experience of World War I, Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* demonstrates a similar spectatorial attitude in the Spanish Civil War. While Cowley's experience of World War I established literary expatriate identity, Hemingway's in Spain rejuvenated it. As many scholars have noted, the Spanish Civil War began during a low point in Hemingway's literary career.<sup>34</sup> As Alex Vernon writes in his book *Hemingway's Second War: Bearing Witness to the Spanish Civil War*, Hemingway's works in the 1930s came under fire for failing to "engage the pressing social issues of their times," and it had been several years since his last successful publication, *A Farewell to Arms* (Vernon 14). However, Hemingway had long considered Spain his creative homeland by the 1930s, and the Spanish Civil War gave him a chance to refocus his career and gather characters and experience for a new novel. Hemingway treated the war as an opportunity for literary and personal revival. As his fellow war correspondent Josephine Herbst notes, Hemingway was

undergoing some kind of transformation, and part of the reason he had come to Spain was doubtless because the forces of that process were already at work...He had answered a definite call when he came to Spain. He wanted to be *the* war writer of his age, and he knew it and went toward it. War gave answers that could not be found in that paradise valley of Wyoming where he had fished or even in

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<sup>34</sup> See Mark Ott's "Tanks, Butterflies, Realists, Idealists: Hemingway, Dos Passos, and the Imperfect Ending in Spain of 1937-1938", Michael Solow's "A Clash of Certainties, Old and New: Form Whom the Bell Tolls and the Inner War of Ernest Hemingway", Anton Nillson's "Ernest Hemingway and the Politics of the Spanish Civil War", and Alex Vernon's book *Hemingway's Second War: Bearing Witness to the Spanish Civil War* (Ch. 1 in particular).

the waters of Key West when the tarpon struck. What was the deepest reality  
*there* was in an extreme form *here*, and to get it he had to be in it, and he knew it.

(Vernon 14)

Though there is no doubt that some of Hemingway's motivation for joining the Spanish war effort was linked to his affection for the country and his hatred of fascism, more importantly the war provided the frustrated author with an opportunity to embark on a journey of self-discovery and literary exploration similar to that which Cowley describes during World War I. Ultimately, Hemingway's time in the war was not an altruistic self-sacrifice for his beloved Spain, but rather yet another expatriate adventure abroad.

Understanding Hemingway's time in the Spanish Civil War as part of an expatriate identity significantly changes our reading of his resulting novel on the experience. If we view *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as part of an ongoing trend in modernist literature that coopts foreign wars for the education and entertainment of American expatriates, then the focus of the novel shifts from the war to the American expatriate at its center, Robert Jordan. While many readings have pointed to Jordan's character development as a key feature of the novel, it has largely been seen as illuminating the novel's larger focus on unity with all mankind. However, if Jordan's military service is read as part of the tradition Cowley identifies, then he can never be one with all mankind as someone who's participation in the war is always mediated through his role as a foreigner. Instead, Jordan is merely an observer of the spectacle of the Spanish Civil War, gathering observations for his book "about the things he knew, truly" (*For Whom the Bell Tolls* 248).

Putting Jordan in the context of expatriate war experiences as an observer of spectacle in the modernist period connects *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and encourages us to extend our idea of tourism and spectacle beyond its normal boundaries through the parallel examples of spectacle across the two narratives. Perhaps the most pervasive parallel is the imagery of bullfighting that is a central focus of *The Sun Also Rises* and a frequent metaphor in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Anselmo compares Pablo to a matador who is ready to retire: “He is very much afraid to die...Now he would like to retire like a *matador de toros*. Like a bullfighter. But he cannot retire” (26). Pilar later recounts her time with the matador Finito and compares the risks they take in war to the risks a matador takes in the ring (55). And later, when Jordan meets Joaquín, an amateur matador and one of Sordo’s band, “‘I have no fear of [bulls] now,’ the boy said. ‘None. And we have seen much worse thing and more dangerous than bulls. It is clear no bull is as dangerous a machine gun. But if I were in the ring with one now I do not know if I could dominate my legs’” (133-134). References like these are spread throughout the novel, characterizing the guerilla fighters in the war as matadors performing for a crowd. The violence of the corrida that is performed for the benefit of foreign audiences in *The Sun Also Rises* is mirrored in the violence of war performed by local fighters at the command of foreign generals.

In addition to the frequent parallels between bullfighting like that in *The Sun Also Rises*, both novels are also narrated predominantly through foreign perspectives. As noted above, Jake Barnes sees himself as an aficionado, a fan of bullfighting who can watch the spectacle and see its beauty and cultural significance. In *The Sun Also Rises*, being an

aficionado gives Jake privileged access to Spanish culture. In a similar way, Robert Jordan is framed as a professional observer in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* who is invited into the guerilla camp as a spectator to the local fight for independence. By linking Robert Jordan's observations of the guerillas during the war to Barnes's spectatorship of the fiesta and the corrida, Jordan's time in the war is framed as a tourist experience like the festival of San Fermín.

The parallels between bullfighting and afición in *The Sun Also Rises* and Jordan's war experiences in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* frame the latter through Cowley's spectatorial focus rather than as a traditional war narrative, a shift which substantially alters our reading of the novel's protagonist. While a traditional war narrative reading places American expatriate Robert Jordan on equal footing with the Spanish guerilla fighters, the novel itself is concerned with the personal development of Jordan as an expatriate, not as a soldier. Like the modernist writers Cowley describes in the ambulance corps, Robert Jordan's service in Spain is voluntary and disconnected from the consequences of the war. Unlike the Spanish locals, Jordan does not need to stay in Spain to suffer the aftermath of the war (and his reflections on bringing Maria back to the United States suggest he doesn't mean to [165]). His family is not lost in the early rebellions like Joaquín's or Maria's, nor does he carry the early guilt from the rebellion that Pilar, Pablo, and Anselmo do. Above all, Robert Jordan is not a real Spaniard.

However, this is not to say that Jordan should be lumped together with all the other foreigners of the novel. Hemingway distinguishes him from other foreign characters like Golz and Kashkin by having him speak in idiomatic Spanish, using knowledge of

local customs, and living a decade of expatriate Spain to ingratiate himself to the locals. For example, when he meets Joaquín on the way to see Sordo, Jordan reflects,

He was lucky that he had lived parts of ten years in Spain before the war. They trusted you on the language principally... If you knew Spanish he was prejudiced in your favor, if you knew his province it was that much better, but if you knew his village and his trade you were in as far as any foreigner ever could be. He never felt like a foreigner in Spanish and they did not really treat him like a foreigner most of the time; only when they turned on you. (135)

Jordan uses his insider knowledge of Spanish culture to gain loyalty from the guerillas he works with while it also gives him a semblance of belonging within Spanish culture. Like Jake Barnes's relationship with Montoya in *The Sun Also Rises*, Jordan's personal interactions with the guerillas give him privileged access to their experiences and lead him to believe he can transcend his outsider status. Jordan forms friendships and alliances with the guerillas not to protect them or to serve them, but rather to gain entry into their insider community and their resources. Additionally, Hemingway uses Jordan's characterization to develop Jordan's personal identity, much like the soldiers in Cowley's accounts of WWI used foreign military service as an extension of their personal educations. These portrayals of Jordan's interactions with the guerillas undermines the benevolent view of Jordan's military service in Spain.

### ***For Whom the Bell Tolls* as Slum Tourism**

While there are strong parallels between *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as tourist narratives, it is impossible to deny that the relationships between Jake Barnes and the local Spaniards in Pamplona are based in a different dynamic from those

between Robert Jordan and the local guerillas during the Spanish Civil War. At the most obvious level, Barnes's time in Spain is motivated by a desire to escape his everyday life and a desire for entertainment, while Jordan is motivated by the political conflict. Given the political nature of Jordan's time in Spain, it is tempting to read *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as somehow less touristic or exploitative than *The Sun Also Rises*. However, as my analysis above illustrates, the consistent trend of foreign military service within modernism challenges this reading. Therefore, instead of reading *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as outside of the tourist experience, I instead suggest that the tourism in the novel is based around a different, more socio-politically motivated spectacle—the spectacle of foreign warfare and the suffering of foreign people, a practice akin to a form of tourism recently termed *slum tourism*

Slum tourism is a phenomenon that scholars link to nineteenth-century British practices of “slumming.” According to the OED, slumming is defined as “the visitation of the slums, especially for charitable or philanthropic purposes” and was a term in common usage in the late nineteenth-century. Many scholars, including Seth Koven, link the practice of slumming to Victorian era concerns about social problems. Koven states, “To a remarkable degree, the men and women who governed church and state in late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain and dominated social welfare bureaucracies and the emerging profession of social work felt compelled to visit, live, or work in the London slums at some point in their careers of public service” (1). This is similar to the pervasiveness of foreign military service among twentieth-century writers and artists interested in modernist experimentation. Koven also notes that slumming as a Victorian practice was pervasive (based on the number of slumming sites available for tours) and

often served an “an evening’s entertainment for many well-to-do Londoners” as well as a site for social work (1). Slumming served several, often divergent purposes; though it presumed to function as a form of service to the poor, Koven and other scholars recognize that slumming frequently devolved into voyeurism and titillation. As Koven notes, H. J. Dyos says “that the word ‘slum’ has ‘no fixity’ and ‘was being used in effect for a whole range of social and political purposes.’...Charity and philanthropy mingle with immoral pursuits and voyeuristic curiosity in these definitions, which refuse to be definitive” (Koven 9). In short, Victorian era, slumming served simultaneously as a form of public service, voyeuristic entertainment, and a means to self-realization for upper class Londoners.

The practice of slumming continued into the twentieth century in various forms, with some examples embracing the entertainment element of the practice more than others. For example, in the 1920s and 30s middle- and upper-class white Americans often went “slumming” in Harlem, visiting speakeasies and jazz clubs. According to Chloë Rae Edmonson, locations like the famous Cotton Club “catered to white audiences only, yet featured almost exclusively black entertainers and wait staff. Within the highly controlled environment of segregated performance avenues like the Cotton Club, every black employee was in a sense a performer—instructed to convey a fantasy version of their blackness as entertainment for white patrons” (3). In addition to white visitors in Harlem, slumming took on a textual element in the form of muckraking journalism where newspaper readers were invited to experience lower-class living through articles and photography. Perhaps the most notable example of this phenomenon is Jacob Riis’s *How*



*the Other Half Lives* (1890), a publication of photojournalism documenting the living conditions in New York city slums.

Since the early twentieth century, “slumming” as both a social welfare and entertainment activity has morphed into more structured forms of *slum tourism*, *poverty tourism*, and/or *voluntourism* (a subset of slum tourism that combines traditional tours with volunteer work). It has shifted from the urban-centric and local explorations of Victorian trips to London slums towards more extensive journeys into the Global South. Slum tourism has grown since the 1970s in the shifting politics of the global landscape; modern day slum tourism thrives in areas where political strife has caused social and economic upheaval, such as the favelas of Brazil and post-apartheid South Africa. Western tourists frequently visit these sites of political upheaval as a way to both experience poverty and to reach self-realization. As Fabian Frenzel and Ko Koens note in their article “Slum Tourism: Developments in a Young Field of Interdisciplinary Tourism Research,”

Several papers dealt with slum tourism as the commodification of poverty.

However, it seems that it is not necessarily poverty itself that is commodified but rather the potentially transformative experience of poverty that is characteristic of slum tourism. Such a transformation can take two forms: either the tourists' knowledge and understanding of urban poverty or the actual conditions of poverty that the slum tours promise to transform. (209)

This critique is echoed across scholarship on both Victorian era slumming and modern slum tourism. Though some scholars such as Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe are more ambivalent about the negative and exploitative effects of slum and voluntourism on local

communities, most still recognize that the “slum tourist encounter is premised on pre-existing national, class, and racial inequalities...Tourists and slum-dwellers find themselves literally embodying a certain structural position, as they become personally involved in reconfiguring difference and inequality along these fault lines” (Dürr and Jaffe 118). It is such concerns over exploitation, voyeurism, and self-realization within tourist encounters that I believe are at play in Robert Jordan’s interactions within *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

There are distinct parallels between the modernist practice of foreign military service and both Victorian and modern iterations of slum tourism in their shared intent and in their socio-cultural repercussions. Both practices claim to deconstruct socioeconomic categories and provide aid to underprivileged populations. However, both practices are also supported by the very categories they seek to deconstruct and motivated by a desire for self-improvement and discovery as much as humanitarianism. For these reasons, slum tourism as a concept provides a fruitful way to read *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and the modernist war experience as it helps us to reframe the novel in relation to modernist expatriation and identity. The lens of slum tourism challenges our understanding of the novel as an altruistic look into global politics and war by restructuring our reading instead around the modernist expatriate’s search for personal fulfillment.

In order to apply the concept of slum tourism to *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, it is important to first develop a working definition of slum tourism for literary analysis and to understand the nuances and differences between modern slum tourism and the interactions within Hemingway’s novel. Defining slum tourism is surprisingly difficult as

the practice is rooted in such a broad set of historical practices (as the OED definition suggests), and tourism studies span multiple disciplines. Many scholars within tourism studies have lamented the lack of a concrete definition for slum tourism and the “undisciplined” nature of the scholarship. Frenzel and Koens in particular state that because the research is “comprised primarily of case studies,” it is difficult to generalize individual tourist experiences and “directly transfer concepts, ideas, and theoretical angles” (198) that were originally rooted in very particular social and political conditions.

Given the diverse perspectives and definitions of slum tourism within the field, for the purposes of my analysis I draw on the established definitions in Dürr and Jaffe’s work on modern slum tourism and on Koven’s work on Victorian-era slumming. Both engage with the commonalities in the power dynamics and functions of various slum tourism experiences while acknowledging the differences caused by social and political particularities. From Dürr and Jaffe, I borrow the mixed function of slum tourism as both altruistic and voyeuristic and the ways in which those mixed functions highlight unequal power dynamics based on nationality, race, and class (118). Additionally, I rely on Dürr and Jaffe’s connection between slum tourism and the study of mobilities; they state, “A mobilities approach to tourism goes beyond studying the physical movement of people between and across material places. It also involves analysing the popular and official representations of these movements and places, and the way these places are created, performed and modified by tourists and hosts” (119). This focus on mobilities helps to describe the different relationship Robert Jordan has to the guerilla camp and to Spain than the “objects” of his tourist experience, the local guerillas, do. Studying mobilities also allows me to consider the ways in which Jordan’s reflections on his interactions with

the guerillas and the existence of the novel itself enacts a particular representation of Spanish poverty and rebellion for foreign spectators.

Dürr and Jaffe's focus on mobilities is echoed in the definition I borrow from Koven's work in which he argues he has "made mobility, not fixity, central to [his] definition of slumming." Koven's definition of slumming expands slum tourism beyond formal and deliberate expeditions for the purpose of observing the poor, as he includes "charity, sociological research, Christian rescue, social work, investigative journalism" under the same term. For Koven, as for Dürr and Jaffe, it is the movement of people that characterizes the activity; Koven states, "My definition of slumming depends upon a movement, figured as some sort of 'descent' across urban spatial and class, gender, and sexual boundaries" (9). The result of these combined definitions for my analysis is a definition slum tourism based on the following criteria:

1. The "descent" of a socially, economically, and/or politically powerful individual to a lower class of society.
2. Interactions that are based on and negotiated around power dynamics of class, race, and/or nationality.
3. An exploration of the differences in mobilities between local subjects and the tourist subject, as well as mobility in the representation of the tourist experience.

And finally, based on Dürr, Jaffe, and Koven, as well as on other studies of slum tourism,

4. Conflicting functions of altruism and voyeurism in which the intended purpose of the descent to a lower class is to help others while the actual purpose is for self-realization.

Of the criteria above, the focus on mobilities and descent in particular are significant for the expatriate project within *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Slum tourism involves a simultaneous and intertwined descent across both space and ideology that ties the spatial part of the act to its ideological underpinnings. By applying the principles of slum tourism to a literary text like *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, we can link the social categories and conflicts to the physical space of the tourist experience represented in the novel. This allows us to read Jordan's identity crisis and self-discovery as intimately tied to his movement through the spaces of the novel as he defines his own identity in relation to his surroundings.

Jordan's time in the mountains is a descent of both political, social, and economic rank. Because of his education and his specialty in explosives, Jordan politically outranks the guerillas that he is sent to help. Likewise, his social connections in Madrid, his knowledge of the politics and plans from center of the movement, and his direct line of communication with Golz and Karkov signal his social and political dominance, while his fantasies about luxurious baths, books, and hotel rooms in Madrid signal his class dominance over the guerillas who instead fantasize about owning their own farms and moving to the mountains of Gredos. The political, social, and economic superiority Jordan has over the locals frames his entry into their mountain home as a descent from a position of power into the lower classes of the war. The intention of the slum tourist act in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is to use this descent across political, social, and economic categories as a way to deconstruct the categories themselves, making Jordan equal with the guerillas he serves. However, in reality, the slum tourist encounter actually reinstates the power dynamics by placing Jordan consistently above the guerillas in the novel.

Hemingway casts the locals as aware that Jordan is more powerful than they are, and identify him as simultaneously a foreigner, an expert, a savior, and an intruder; all of these roles separate Jordan from the others at the camp while also positioning him at the top of the power dynamic, for despite being a foreign intruder, he is also closest to the command and seen as an essential asset to the Republican cause. In many ways, the locals are led to believe that the survival and success of their way of life is in Jordan's hands, even though they know his plan puts their own lives in danger. Jordan's unbalanced power is an essential piece of his relationship with the local Spaniards and of the slum tourism aspects of the narrative; it illustrates the breakdown of slum tourism's espoused goals. Even though higher-class individuals believe they are descending to the level of the lower classes through the act of slumming, their descent fails to erase the power dynamics between the two classes as the higher-class tourists emerge as leaders over the lower-class locals. In Jordan's case, he unseats Pablo as the leader of the guerillas, reestablishing the power dynamic his descent to their level was meant to deconstruct.

In the novel, Hemingway reflects the ideological divisions between Jordan and the locals in their relationships to Spain as a national space. We can see this particularly in their respective reflections on Spanish locations and the significance they attribute to the country during their time in the war. For the local guerillas, their reflections on Spain revolve around small towns and rural spaces. They tell stories of farms they hope to have or villages that they've seen. Likewise, their time in the movement begins in provincial spaces; for example, Pilar describes her most memorable moment from the start of the movement in a small town, not in the urban centers of Madrid or Barcelona. For the local

guerillas, Spain is a homeland that must be defended; the civil war is tied directly to their way of life and to the people they know in their villages. For Jordan, however, the movement centers around Madrid, home of both the official war effort and much of the culture and arts scene in Spain during the war.

Interpreting Jordan's relationship to Spain in the novel is complicated in part because Jordan's experience are constructed by Hemingway, but they also bear remarkable resemblance to the autobiographical experience of Hemingway himself during the Spanish Civil War. As Alex Vernon notes, "The gathering of personalities in Madrid in April 1937 [when Hemingway was there as a NANA war correspondent] made for something like a condensed wartime version of Paris in the 1920s, with foreign journalists instead of expatriate artists and Hotel Florida instead of the Left Bank" (24). In contrast to the locals in the novel whom Hemingway portrays as connected to the rural parts of Spain as part of their national identity, Hemingway describes Jordan's Spain as an urban intellectual and creative refuge (163). Like Hemingway himself, Jordan's relationship to Spain is based on his own personal fulfillment and professional goals. The war allows both author and character to explore their own identities and politics, and then write "a true book" based on his observations among the guerillas (163).

Overall, the application of slum tourism to *For Whom the Bell Tolls* reveals that Jordan's relationships to the people and spaces of Spain center around exploitation and voyeurism. Reading the novel as a narrative of slum tourism transforms our understanding of Hemingway's portrayal of the war zone and locals' war experience into consumable objects that are used by Jordan to negotiate his own identity and that can be reproduced in the pages of a novel for other foreign readers to use in their own path to

self-discovery. Through this view, the various events in the novel—from Pilar's story of the Ayuntamiento to the bridge job itself—are performances of suffering and political strife against which Jordan and other privileged audiences can define their own worldviews.

### **Bringing up the Bridge Job: Interrogating Values in Relation to the Mountain**

Of all the events in the novel that can be read as part of Jordan's slum tourism experience, the bridge job is perhaps the most significant. It is the driving force of *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, with the novel literally beginning and ending at the site of the mission. Reading the bridge job as the primary conflict of the novel highlights the tension between foreign and local identity and ideology that is at the center of the novel and the tourist encounter. Early anxieties about the bridge job separate local involvement in the war from foreign involvement in a way that is highly grounded in Spain as a space of great ideological significance. In the novel, these anxieties are projected onto the contested spaces of the mountain and bridge, which function as domestic spaces for the locals and as battlegrounds for the foreigners. Additionally, the ideologies that are projected onto the bridge mirror many of the ideologies that motivated the various international interventions in the Spanish Civil War. For many international governments, the Spanish Civil War came to represent the global fight between fascism and communism rather than a local conflict. I argue the division between the foreign interest in the war and the local interest is the political tension that runs just below the surface of the novel, dividing the characters of the novel by either their foreign or local identity. This division established very early in the novel with the when the mission is explained to the local guerillas.



The novel opens with Jordan scoping out the mountain in preparation for the bridge job. Within the first page, he “spread the photostated military map out on the forest floor” (1), literally imposing the logic and order of his military training onto the mountain space. This map mirrors the map on which Golz described the Segovia offensive and the bridge demolition to Jordan, illustrating how Jordan’s perspective of the mountain is mediated both through a military and, perhaps more importantly, a foreign perspective. Golz is not only the reason Jordan enters into the mountains, but he also frames Jordan’s experience in terms of foreign motivations and values. As Jordan views the mountain through his foreign military perspective, the men in the mountain (both the guerilla bands and the fascist troops) become impersonal bodies in a military operation; Jordan disinterestedly refers to all of them as men (distinct from the foreign commanders that he serves), and even forgets Anselmo’s name (2). In these early moments of the text, Jordan has a tendency to collapse the distinctness of the Spanish people into a simplified military view; this removes the humanity of the Spaniards, and instead makes them pawns in a global military conflict. Jordan views himself similarly, as he thinks “he did not give any importance to what happened to himself” (4). These reflections encourage readers to view the mountain and the people in it as military tools and, therefore, subject to the abstract political ideologies of Jordan and his foreign commanders.

This abstracted view of the people and of the mountain is in contrast to the domestic characterization of the mountain by Pablo and his band. Unlike Jordan who is able to view the mountain impersonally, for the guerillas, the mountain is a source of comfort; it is their home during the war. When Jordan first enters the mountain camp, the

space has a distinctly domestic quality that is in contrast with his singularly military focus. This causes tension as Jordan seeks to separate himself from the comradery and domesticity of the mountain camp. When Jordan first enters the camp, he thinks immediately of its tactical advantages (“it could not be spotted from the air” [18]), and when he first enters the cave, he remains burdened by the mission. As Jordan approaches the camp on his first night in the mountains, he initially intends to follow Anselmo into the mouth of the cave, before he “then reconsidered and, lifting the canvas off the two packs, picked them up, one in each hand, and started with them, just able to carry them, for the mouth of the cave...with a pack in each hand, carrying by the leather shoulder straps, he went into the cave” (49). Jordan is both literally and symbolically tied to the mission he is charged with even as he enters into the domestic space of the cave. Pablo recognizes this tension and registers his disapproval, saying, “I do not like to have dynamite here in the cave” (49), echoing his earlier comment to Jordan, “You cannot blow bridges close to where you live. You must live in one place and operate in another” (11). These early moments lay the groundwork for the ideological differences between Jordan and the Spanish locals that are projected onto the mountain space. For Jordan, the mountain is nothing more than another warzone, illustrative of his impartial military ideology. However, for the guerillas the mountain space is intensely personal, domestic, and tied to their identity as lower-class Spanish people.

As Pablo’s comments suggest, Jordan’s entry into the mountain camp violates the sanctity of the domestic space by forcing the locals to treat their home as a military zone rather than a refuge. This fact is emphasized when Jordan introduces the bridge job to Pablo and his band in the cave. When Jordan first mentions the bridge inside the safety of

the cave, the whole band goes silent. The introduction of the mission in the domestic space causes a fissure within the group between Pablo, whose main goal is survival, and the others who connect the bridge job to the Republic. Notably, though Jordan is the instigator of this split, he remains relatively outside of it. Instead, the band rallies around Pilar (not Jordan) against Pablo. Despite the fact that Jordan is in charge of the mission, he has no authority within the domestic space of the cave, nor does he seem to want any. According to the gypsy, Jordan has the ability to take authority by killing Pablo in the cave (60-61). However, Jordan chooses not to, and he instead lets Pilar take control of the band. The result is that he sets himself apart from the band and outside of their bonds of friendship and nationality. This is further emphasized in his choice to sleep outside of the cave, keeping his identity and his ideology separate from that of the guerillas. Jordan's choice to distance himself by escaping the cave suggests that the cave is a spatial representation of the local community outside of which Jordan exists. Within the novel, the cave becomes the site of local values and politics that Jordan can never quite understand.

The band's resistance to the bridge job is unsurprising since everyone in the cave, including Jordan, seems to know the risk of the operation. At best, it will drive Pablo's band from the mountain. At worst, it will kill them all. However, the difference in their reactions is in the value that each person ascribes to these consequences, and these values are inscribed upon the mountain space. For Jordan, this means viewing the mountain abstractly, deliberately resisting attaching any personal value to the camp or to the bridge. Similar to how he first encounters the mountain through a military map, when Jordan describes the particulars of the bridge job to the guerillas, he uses his own sketches of the

bridge rather than the space itself to show them the plan (57). Through the drawings, Jordan's relationship to the space remains distant in a way that the guerillas' relationship can never be. Pablo points this out when he compares the rest of the band viewing Jordan's sketches to looking "at the pretty pictures" (58) after reminding them that they will not see the explosion of the bridge on paper, but rather with their own two eyes. This warning is repeated later by Sordo when Jordan explains that the plan to blow the bridge in daylight is quite simple on paper and Sordo responds simply, "That they should let us do something on paper" (152). As these two moments illustrate, for Pablo and the others, the bridge is a real place, one they are intimately familiar with, while for Jordan it remains little more than a sketch.

Jordan's ability to view the mountain and the bridge job impersonally reflect his identity as a foreigner in Spain. Because of the intense foreign interest both in the results and in the ideological underpinnings of the war in Spain, the war in many ways became less about Spanish interests and more about foreign ones. In particular, the foreign involvement in the war seems at least in part a performance of military power as a precursor to WWII. Foreign forces, particularly those from Germany and Russia, used the Spanish Civil War as an opportunity to test new military tactics and weapons they would later use on a larger scale in WWII. For many international governments, the Spanish Civil War came to represent the global fight against either fascism or communism. This is the political and historical reality that motivates Jordan to view the mountain in abstract terms; as a foreigner the mountain *is* abstract. It is only one place in one country that foreign leaders saw as part of a larger global conflict.

Because Jordan views the Spanish Civil War through this international focus, his political ideologies remain isolated from the political realities in Spain. Jordan does not identify with the Republic that Pilar and Anselmo glorify, nor does he identify as a Communist like Sordo and Joaquín; both of these identities would link Jordan to the specific political situation in Spain. Instead, he identifies as an “anti-fascist” (66), tying his identity to a global cause outside of the mountain and even outside of Spain and defining him through what he is *not* rather than through what he is (i.e. he is not a fascist much like he is not a Spaniard.). Though the guerillas like Pilar view Jordan’s abstract politics as honorable, his perspective risks reducing the highly localized nature of the Spanish Civil War into idealistic abstractions separate from the Spanish people or setting. The danger in transforming local politics into abstract ideals is that the loss of individual human lives seems far easier to justify for the sake of the cause. This is repeatedly made clear by Robert Jordan as he reflects that his primary concern is completing the plan, even though he knows the plan is ill-fated and will kill many people for whom the war is supposedly being fought. As he remarks early in the novel, “Neither you nor [Anselmo] is anything. You are instruments to do your duty. There are necessary orders that are no fault of yours and there is a bridge and that bridge can be the point on which the future of the human race can turn” (43). Because Jordan views his time in the mountain as part of some larger global cause that is bigger than either him or the Spanish locals, he is able to distance himself from the consequences of the bridge job and from the domestic safety of the mountain. He is willing to die for the cause because he does not consider himself a part of the local community that the bridge job threatens.

In contrast, the local guerillas attribute great personal significance to both the bridge and the mountain. For the locals, the bridge job is imbued with the fears of losing their home, their nation, and their identity in part because the mountain is a spatial manifestation of all of the value the guerillas associate with the war and with the nation. These values hold different levels of significance for different characters; Pablo, for example, sees the bridge job as a mission constructed by foreigners for foreign interest, while Pilar and Sordo are more inclined to believe the bridge job is necessary for a Republican victory in the war. However, all of these characters recognize that the bridge job will likely force them out of the mountains or kill them. Because values of both Republicanism and home are projected onto the mountain and the bridge job, these consequences take on a greater significance. For the guerillas, the bridge job becomes a loss of home and therefore also a loss of self, even as they try to accept the consequences as for the good of the Republic.

The contrast between these two value systems creates a fissure between the foreigner Robert Jordan and the intensely locally-oriented guerillas. The distance between Jordan and the consequences of the war is a constant undercurrent in Jordan's relationship with the people in the mountains. Although Jordan goes to great pains to establish himself as a trustworthy member of the party and internally to reassure himself that he understands the values, mannerisms, and beliefs of the Spanish people, there are frequent reminders of Jordan's separation from their experience and his safety from long-term consequences of the war. Jordan's conversation with Pilar and Sordo is perhaps the clearest illustration of this divide. When Pilar brings Jordan to Sordo so Jordan can explain the bridge plan, Jordan speaks of the plan in impersonal terms, but he is reminded

by Sordo and Pilar that his understanding of the risk remains tactical rather than human. For example, when Sordo tells Jordan it will be difficult to get four more horses overnight, Jordan responds “Knowing you are leaving. Having no need to be careful as you have been in this neighborhood. Not having to be cautious here now. You could not cut out and steal eight head of horses?” (144). Jordan’s insistence that the guerillas abandon any sentimentality and safety they attribute to their mountain home demonstrates his misunderstanding of the space’s significance for the guerillas. As a result, Sordo’s responses to Jordan remain curt as the man refuses to engage with Jordan’s abstract plans. Jordan’s inability to appreciate the human cost of his demands leads Sordo to bar Jordan from the community in the mountains by denying him the comradery of shared language.

This pattern is repeated when Jordan theorizes about how effective the guerillas could be if they were to flee to Gredos following the bridge: “To operate from there would be better than returning to the Republic...You are more useful there” (148). Once again, Jordan’s relation to both the guerillas and to the Spanish land are rooted in utility. Unsurprisingly Jordan’s insistence that they go where they can be most useful to the cause is met by a stream of curses from Pilar as she says,

Then just shut up about what we are to do afterwards, will you *Inglés*? You go back to the Republic and you take your piece [Maria] with you and leave us others alone here to decide what part of these hills we’ll die in...but do not shut the door on others who are not foreigners and who loved the Republic when thou wert wiping thy mother’s milk off thy chin. (150)

Pilar's anger, like Sordo's curt speech, is directed toward Jordan's tactical coldness. As Sordo says to Jordan, "You speak of going to Gredos as though it were a military manoeuvre to be accomplished. To arrive at Gredos would be a miracle" (152). Jordan's interaction with Sordo and Pilar highlights the division between foreign politics and local investment in the war by showing that even his allies in the mountain see him as detached from the consequences of the mission.

Notably, Pilar's use of "the Republic" shifts throughout her speech. When she refers to Jordan returning to the Republic, it functions as a space, most likely Madrid, in contrast to "these hills" the guerillas have established as their home. By comparing the guerillas' mountain camp to Jordan's political center in Madrid, Pilar highlights the ideological difference between the two of them. Jordan's "home" is political while Pilar's is personal. This difference is echoed throughout Jordan's relationships with the local guerillas. In contrast, in the latter half of Pilar's speech, the term Republic shifts from a spatialized term to a political and cultural one. When Pilar reminds Jordan that her own love of the Republic existed long before his foreign interest in it did, the Republic becomes less about a physical site of state politics and more about the cultural values associated with pre-war, pre-fascist Spain.

Pilar's use of Republic both in a spatialized and in a political/cultural sense highlights the divide between foreign priorities in Spain and the lives and values of the Spanish people. The tension between these two perspectives is a driving force in the novel which undermines previous readings of the novel that hail Robert Jordan as a man who is one with the locals and with all mankind. Instead, if we read the novel through the conflicting values of foreigners and locals as set up by the bridge plan, it becomes a



commentary on Jordan's separation from the realities of the Spanish Civil War for Spanish nationals. By extension, the novel elucidates the conflict in modernist expatriate identity that seeks to reconcile a global vision of mankind with the local particularities they experienced abroad.

### **Educating the Expatriate: Slum Tourism as a Path of Self-Discovery**

The crisis in expatriate identity highlighted while planning the bridge job is a key focus of my slum tourist interpretation of the novel. A significant part of slum tourism involves the tourist subject moving towards self-realization. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Hemingway's goal at least in part is to portray Jordan as an expatriate serving abroad to transform his impersonal and abstract political ideology into a connection to all mankind. For Jordan, this means forming relationships with the Spanish guerillas who represent human connections and community within the text in contrast to his expatriate isolation. Unlike the foreign *partizans*, local fighters on both sides of the war are able to see across political boundaries and recognize the common humanity between themselves and their wartime enemies.

For the guerillas in particular, they are able to humanize and empathize with the state army, disarming the "us vs. them" dichotomy that is expected in war. Characters like Anselmo and Andrés can entertain the idea of fitting in with the fascists as much as they can imagine killing them, as they recognize that it is only a small change in circumstances that separates the guerillas from their fascists "enemies." For example, Andrés thinks to himself, "If our father had not been a Republican both Eladio and I would be soldiers now with the fascists and if one were a soldier with them then there would be no problem...I believe truly in the cause and I do not worry. But it is a life of

much responsibility” (367). As this passage suggests, though the local guerillas ascribe to communist ideologies, their loyalty to the cause is far more connected to their culture, their homeland, and to their community than to global political movements. Therefore, it is not enmity that separates the two sides of the conflict but rather political ideologies. Significantly, those ideologies are also imported into the Spanish Civil War by foreigner interventionists from Russia, Italy and Germany, countries who saw Spain as part of a larger global conflict between fascism and communism. Ultimately, the established us/them dichotomy of the novel is not between the Spanish communists and the Spanish fascists, but rather between the Spanish people and the foreign political influences on both sides of the war.

The novel shows that Spanish locals are able to see beyond political ideologies towards the oneness of all mankind. Their loyalty is to each other and to Spain as their collective homeland. In contrast, Jordan is mired in politics and unable to see his connection to the larger conflict. As a foreign soldier, Jordan remains loyal to his mission and to the “cause” above all else and to his own vision of himself as noble. It remains his main (and sometimes his sole) concern, often leading him to disregard his own safety and the safety of others for the sake of the mission. For example, when initially confronted with resistance to the plan for the bridge, Jordan says to Pablo and the others, “‘I come only for my duty,’ Robert Jordan told him. ‘I come under orders from those who are conducting the war. If I ask you to help me, you can refuse and I will find others who will help me’” (15). As a foreign soldier, he has no immediate loyalty to the people he asks to serve him. Instead, he places his trust in the cause that he is fighting for, so much so that Pilar later remarks to Jordan “‘Though art very religious about thy politics’” (66). Because

he is unable to see beyond the political motivations for the war, Jordan remains isolated and unable to enter into the local community.

Though Jordan's politics isolate him from local community, the novel is organized as an educational process designed to help bring Jordan into a larger human community. Education is a repeated theme throughout the novel as Jordan is encouraged to absorb information and experiences from the war to educate himself on the realities of Spanish culture and war. The focus on the education of an expatriate subject is consistent with the modernist practice of foreign military service detailed above; Malcolm Cowley even characterized such military participation during World War I as a "college extension courses for a generation of writers" (38).

However, education is also consistent with the slum tourist narrative at work in the text that revolves around self-realization. Education is a common aspect within the discourse on slum tourism and voluntourism in which the experiences of hardship are appropriated for the education of the tourist subject. Crossley's study of volunteer tourists in rural Kenya addresses this problem by demonstrating how volunteers forced to confront poverty in their tourist experiences frame the encounters in terms of personal development rather than as a demonstration of global systemic problems. The goal of volunteer tourism projects is then transformed from alleviating poverty (or in Jordan's case, ending political oppression) to enriching the self. As Crossley notes, "Not only is poverty neutralized in this, but because a positive change is brought about in the Self poverty actually becomes transformed from a threatening, anxiety-inducing object into one associated with moral redemption--delivering Western subjects from a state of ignorance and ingratitude" (244).

While Jordan may not claim to participate in the war as a way to find himself or understand hardship, it is hard to deny that this kind of education is what he receives, and the constant theme of education throughout the text suggests this was in part Hemingway's intention. In his discussion of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as a martyrdom plot William T. Moynihan briefly notes the educational purpose served in Jordan's interactions with the Spanish guerillas. According to Moynihan,

[w]hat finally makes Robert Jordan's character most believable are his limitations. Running continually through his conversations with Pablo, Pilar, Anselmo, and Karkov is the idea of a pupil-teacher relationship. Pablo and Pilar represent opposite sides of emotional shrewdness, of 'peasant's intuition.' Anselmo is a moral barometer, a Christian. And Karkov is the representative of the new social morality—Communism. (131)

While Moynihan uses this educational purpose to uphold Jordan as a martyr, I argue the education of Robert Jordan further strengthens the tourist reading of the novel by framing Jordan's participation in the war as part of his personal development. The goal of his experience then becomes learning to understand what Moynihan calls the "mighty theme" of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, "the oneness of all mankind" (127) in which the isolated foreigner comes to appreciate his connection to others.

It is easy to idealize this connection to others and Jordan's relationships with the Spanish locals in the novel as a result. However, it is important to recognize that Jordan's growing respect for human connections and relationships remains abstract; it is not grounded in the particular relationships that he forms in the mountains. While Jordan forms close relationships with many of the characters in the novel, the relationships have

little to do with the people themselves. For example, through his relationship with Maria, Jordan abandons his isolation and learns that “he himself, with another person, could be everything” (393). Importantly, Jordan learns that he needs a connection “with another person,” not Maria specifically, showing that as with relationships formed through modern slum tourism, it is not the relationships themselves that are important. Rather it is the lessons that the tourist learns through those relationships that are most valuable.

As Moynihan suggests, perhaps the most important lesson for Jordan to learn appears to be the importance of human connection as the novel traces Jordan’s education as he moves from political idealism, to personal and political detachment, to an understanding of the oneness of all mankind. As with the ideologies that are attributed to the mountain and the guerilla camp, the lessons Jordan learns are also projected onto the spaces of the novel as part of the slum tourist project. As previously stated, slum tourism is a highly spatialized project that links political and ideological concepts to locations that can be visited and observed. In *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, these locations include both sites of official ideology (i.e. military bases) and of local community (i.e. the mountain camps). Within the novel, Jordan’s ideological education coincides with his movement through these various locations, as he leaves behind official political ideologies the more he traverses into less and less official and upper-class spaces. We can therefore map Jordan’s personal development onto physical sites of political ideology in the novel.

The first site of Jordan’s political development is “the Madrid palace that had been turned into the International Brigade headquarters in the capital,” Velazquez 63 (235). It was constructed as an upper-class space that is later co-opted by the international communist movement. However, though the space is made home to a movement centered

around overthrowing the upper classes and returning power to the workers, Velazquez 63 is populated by upper class generals, foreign leaders, and other higher-ups of the Spanish Civil War. The population in the old palace, while not necessarily bourgeois, represents the official and polished ideology that forms the Republican side of the war. It is in this space that Robert Jordan's transformation begins. Velazquez 63 represents Jordan's most stringent ideology and his lowest rank as a first-time soldier; he describes his time at the headquarters as providing "something like the feeling you expected to have and did not have when you made your first communion. It was a feeling of consecration to a duty toward all the oppressed of the world" (235). At Velazquez 63, Jordan learns to devalue his own life and instead place sole importance on the Republican cause and the "absolute brotherhood with others who were engaged in it" (235).

Velazquez 63 is a symbol of Jordan's early time in the war and resembles the pro-Republican sentiments Hemingway expressed in his work during the early days of the war. Aside from *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Hemingway's work on the Spanish Civil War includes the documentary *The Spanish Earth* and a poorly received play *The Fifth Column*, both of which resemble propaganda more than complex literature. During his early days in Spain in the 1930s, Hemingway abandoned his isolationist attitudes and his non-intervention tactics towards war, and he used his art as open advocacy for international involvement in the Spanish Civil War (Nilsson 85). In addition to his increasingly propagandistic art, the formerly anti-war author found himself justifying the bloodshed in his speech to the American Writers' Congress, saying,

When you are at the front each day and see trench warfare, open warfare, attacks, and counter-attacks, it all makes sense no matter what the cost in dead and

wounded—when you know what the men are fighting for and that they are fighting intelligently. When men fight for the freedom of their country against a foreign invasion, and when these men are your friends—some new friends and some of long standing—and you know how they were attacked and how they fought, at first almost unarmed, you learn, watching them live and fight and die, that there are worse things than war. Cowardice is worse, treachery is worse, and simple selfishness is worse. (Hemingway, “Fascism is a Lie” 4)

This attitude of justifiable killing is echoed in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* through Jordan’s reflections on Velazquez 63 and the battles he partook in during his time there. As Jordan remembers the execution of men who ran from the battle he remarks, “It had seemed just and right and necessary that the men who ran were shot. There was nothing wrong about it. Their running was a selfishness” (236). Hemingway portrays Jordan’s memory of his time at Velazquez 63 in alignment with Hemingway’s own experiences as a newspaper correspondent in Spain in the 30s—it was a time of simple idealism where “[y]ou learned the dry-mouthed, fear-purged, purging ecstasy of battle and you fought that summer and that fall for all the poor in the world, against all tyranny, for all the things that you believed and for the new world you had been educated into” (236). Phrases like those above closely resemble the idealized altruism of slum and voluntourism which divide participants into tourists and sufferers, with the tourist playing a role in uplifting the poor. It is, therefore, at Velazquez 63 that Jordan begins his tour of the war and his political education towards an appreciation of the plight of the oppressed.

However, unlike the characters in Hemingway’s earlier propaganda, Jordan’s education merely begins at Velazquez 63, as the rest of the novel revises the idealism

established in his early days in the war. The site that Jordan credits for this revision to his worldview is Gaylord's, a hotel in Madrid that was taken over by the Russians leaders and commanders. Gaylord's is a place of disillusionment, where experienced commanders speak openly about the deception and the atrocities that sustain the Republican cause. This is the place of Karkov and Golz, and is the heart of Jordan's cynicism and detachment. Jordan calls Gaylord's "the place you needed to complete your education. It was there you learned how it was all really done instead of how it was supposed to be done" (230). Jordan describes Gaylord's as a source of truth outside of the blind ideology of Velazquez 63 and the place where he gains political power as "the most trusted of the young soldiers by the Russians because he was a true party man" (230).

In terms of Jordan's education, Gaylord's is a space of disenchantment where he learns how much of the war is constructed to influence public opinion and actions. Karkov is responsible for showing this to Jordan, remarking, "You are not supposed to like things. Only to understand...I teach you a little each time I see you and eventually you will acquire an education. It would be very interesting for a professor to be educated" (244). For example, Jordan recalls a story Karkov had told him about three wounded Russians in his care. Karkov was required to poison the men if the Russians had to abandon Madrid so that there was "no evidence of any Russian intervention to justify an open intervention by the fascists" (237). As Jordan puts it, "Your nationality and your politics did not show when you were dead" (238). This event is steeped in irony given the pervasiveness of Russian intervention within *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and in Gaylord's in particular. As Jordan notes, "Gaylord's was the place where you met famous peasant and worker Spanish commanders who had sprung to arms from the people at the start of



the war without any previous military training and found that many of them spoke Russian” (229) after being trained at the Lenin Institute. Though Jordan is initially put off by the deception he sees at the hotel, he comes to accept it through each successive revelation, and finds that “what he learned at Gaylord’s only strengthened him in his belief in the things that he did hold to be true. He liked to know how it really was; not how it was supposed to be” (230).

Karkov’s stories and remarks explicitly frame Gaylord’s as a site of education for Jordan. However, it also serves as a mental refuge where Jordan can later escape the nihilism of the bridge job. In the middle of the novel as the bleak realities of his mission become clearer, Jordan thinks to himself that he will have earned a meal at Gaylord’s after the mission is complete, and he fantasizes about taking leave in Madrid (228). Despite originally being the place of ideological disillusionment, Gaylord’s becomes a form of escapism for Jordan, a space where he can disassociate with the struggle and futility of the mountain cave and instead revel in the luxuries of the Russian-run hotel. As with Velazquez 63, Gaylord’s and the ideologies associated with it are embodied in the physical space of the hotel. Like Velazquez 63, Gaylord’s is a repurposed space. Though now functioning as a military retreat, it was a luxury hotel. However, unlike Velazquez 63 whose original purpose as a palace is obscured by the strict ideology imposed upon it by the International Brigade, Gaylord’s maintains the atmosphere of luxury while serving its political function. As such, it provides as a comfortable escape from the realities of war where commanders are isolated from the consequences of their political strategies. It is this luxury function that leads Jordan to think to himself, “You knew you would go to Gaylord’s because you wanted to see all that again; you wanted to eat that good again and

wanted to see all the comfort of it and the luxury of it after this” (229). “This” of course refers to the mountain face, covered in snow, and enmeshed in the upcoming mission that Jordan knows is doomed to fail.

Jordan’s desire to escape the war for Gaylord’s repeats throughout Chapter 18 as he reflects on his personal growth throughout the war. For Jordan, Gaylord’s becomes a mental repose from the realities of war that he is exposed to first hand and forced to witness through the stories of the guerillas. Notably, however, Jordan is the only one granted this escape. Though Gaylord’s is positioned as a space for experienced fighters to reject the idealism of the war effort, a group that no doubt includes guerilla fighters like Pablo and Rafael, in reality the space is reserved primarily for foreigners like Jordan and Karkov. Even Maria, a character who is symbolically inducted into Jordan’s world through their pseudo-marriage, is barred from the space. Jordan’s fantasizing about Gaylord’s is repeatedly interrupted by the reminder of Maria, who he is meant to take with him to Madrid but who he also knows will not be welcome at the hotel. As a local, Maria’s experience of war greatly differs from that of the men at Gaylord’s who must be protected from the infecting influence of her experiences (including the execution of her parents and her own rape). Instead, Jordan imagines quarantining Maria in a separate hotel while he indulges in his foreigner’s escape: “They would have two rooms and she could do what she liked while he went up there and he’d come back from Gaylord’s to her. She had waited up in the hills all this time. She could wait a little while at the Hotel Florida” (231).

The fact that Gaylord’s remains insulated from local experiences means it can’t function as the end point of Jordan’s education, but rather a gateway into his immersion

in local guerilla culture. Jordan reflects on this when he recalls his experiences at Gaylord's and remarks, "He had only started his education, he thought. He wondered whether he would continue with it long" (230). Jordan's continual references to all he is able to learn during his time in the mountains undermine Gaylord's as pinnacle of his education and instead suggests that it is in the mountains among locals and not among the foreign commanders in Madrid that Jordan comes to appreciate what the war is really fought for. If Velazquez 63 instills in Jordan an ideological purity and idealism, and Gaylord's replaces such idealism with justified violence for the sake of political gain (as Karkov demonstrates), then Jordan's time in the mountains teaches him that neither ideology nor politics are truly the worth fighting for. Rather, as Solow argues, Hemingway saw the war as a way to "save lives, and by extension, save a world from oppression" (118). In this way, Jordan's education helps him to appreciate human relationships and his connection to all mankind. As both Solow and Mark P. Ott argue in different degrees, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* challenges isolationist values Hemingway espoused in his earlier work by giving equal voice to a community-centered vision in which all mankind is connected and human relationships are central to human life. I argue this more collectivist perspective is the end goal of Jordan's personal education within the novel and that it is tied to the natural, local spaces of the mountain camp.

Unlike the urban spaces of Velazquez 63 and Gaylord's, Jordan's time in the mountains is closely linked to natural spaces. The shelter that the guerilla's inhabit is a cave set into a rock face. Jordan spends his nights with Maria sleeping outdoors beneath the trees. The two have sex in a meadow and feel the earth move beneath them. The bridge job is planned and executed from the safety of the forest. The novel even literally

begins and ends with Jordan lying flat against the Spanish earth. Though much has been made about Hemingway's use of nature in his work, I am interested particularly in the contrast between the natural, local-inhabited space of the mountain camp and the urban, foreign-dominated spaces of Madrid at the start of Jordan's education.<sup>35</sup> Consistently throughout the novel, Jordan's connection to the Spanish earth is tied to his growing connection to the band of guerillas and to the community he attempts to join in the mountains. In contrast, when Jordan thinks of the urban spaces in Madrid, he tends to fixate on objects such as books, alcohol, and bathtubs and on the political ideologies upheld by foreign leaders (230-232). The contrast in the settings of Madrid and the mountain present a shift in Jordan's education and world view as he moves from the isolated, ideological spaces of the city into the more community-based and natural spaces of the guerilla camp, a move that symbolizes his growing connection to humanity as he leaves abstract politics behind.

The guerillas are likewise tied to the natural space of the mountain and serve a similar function to Karkov and Golz in Jordan's political education. While in the mountains, Jordan bears witness to the suffering and histories of the local fighters as a part of his pursuit of self-realization. Throughout the text, the guerilla's relay their past experiences and tragedies, performing their past suffering for the benefit of the foreign observer. One of the most notable examples of this is Pilar's story of the start of the movement in her hometown. This episode takes up the entirety of Chapter 10 and is one of the most famous and longest episodes in the novel. Over the course of twenty-nine pages, Pilar tells Jordan in vivid detail how the Republican members of the village

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<sup>35</sup> See Robert A. Martin's "Robert Jordan and the Spanish Country: Learning to Live 'Truly and Well'" for a more detailed look at the natural imagery in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

gathered to flail the fascists to death and throw them over a cliff. She explains that the killing was done communally “[t]o save bullets...And that each man should have his share in the responsibility” (106). Later, however, the killing had turned from a necessary act of execution to a gruesome spectacle, transforming communal responsibility into communal guilt.

Pilar’s story of the flailing helps to induct Jordan into that guilt by showing him the realities of the movement that he could not experience first-hand. Jordan remarks after Pilar’s story,

I wish I could write well enough to write that story, he thought...What we did to them at the start. I’ve always known it and hated it and I have heard it mentioned shamelessly and shamefully, bragged of, boasted of, defended, explained and denied. But that damned woman made me see it as though I had been there. Well, he thought, it is part of one’s education. It will be quite an education when it’s finished. You learn in this war if you listen. You most certainly did. (134-135)

Notable in this passage is Hemingway’s use of the pronoun *we* in Jordan’s narration: “What *we* did at the start” (135, emphasis mine). Jordan states mere sentences before that he and the other *partizans* were not involved in the actions in the beginning of the movement nor suffered the consequences after the fascists retaliated. However, Pilar’s story allows Jordan to experience the horrors early in the war without having to be directly involved.

Though Pilar’s story in Chapter 10 is the most extended example of the realities of war, the performance of war’s spectacle is repeated for Robert Jordan multiple times throughout the text. From Joaquín’s brief description of his parents’ deaths (134) to

Maria's more detailed account of her family's execution and her own rape (350-352), Jordan is regaled with stories of the early movement, while his own experience in the mountain remains relatively bloodless until the bridge job. These stories lead Jordan to self-realization by helping to bring him out of his abstract, isolationist politics into community with all mankind. The stories provoke empathy and encourage Jordan to connect himself to the guerillas and their suffering. Even after Maria's story, the girl remarks, "I have told thee this only for thy pride if I am to be thy wife. So thou wouldst understand" (353). Maria's story, like Pilar's and Joaquín's, become Jordan's stories to know, to understand, and to take pride in. As above where he includes himself in the collective "we" Pilar describes early in the movement, by listening to the memories of the guerillas, Jordan infiltrates their community and becomes invested in their cause and in their humanity.

It is significant, however, that Jordan's investment is in many ways made possible through these stories rather than through first-hand experience. Because his contact with the horrors of the war are mediated through local figures like Pilar and Maria, Jordan is able to maintain his distance from both the guilt and the consequences of the war. As I hinted above, Jordan does not share the guilt and trauma of the early movement, even if Pilar's and Maria's stories make him feel like he does. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Jordan is free from the preoccupying need for forgiveness that plagues Anselmo (41), Pilar (129), and even Pablo (209). Instead, he doubts whether forgiveness is even necessary, thinking to himself, "Forgiveness has been exaggerated. Forgiveness is a Christian idea and Spain has never been a Christian country" (355). In this sense, Jordan's second-hand experience of the war leaves him feeling like the only guiltless one

within the community of guerillas; it allows him to justify his own actions as coming from a place of understanding and education where the others acted earlier on emotion and hatred. As he remarks after hearing Maria's story, "I know we did dreadful things to them too. But it was because we were uneducated and knew no better. But they did that [rape Maria] on purpose and deliberately. Those who did that are the last flowering of what their education has produced. Those are the flowers of Spanish chivalry" (354). Because he did not participate in the "dreadful things" early in the movement and only heard of them second hand, Jordan is able to draw a clear line between himself and the fascists he must face during the bridge job without the complicated guilt and kinship that Spanish locals like Anselmo feel towards them. As such, Hemingway places Jordan on a moral high ground over the local guerillas and thereby justifies any killing he may need to do to preserve the larger cause.

### **The Expatriate as a White Savior**

Hemingway presents all of these stories and educational moments to lead Jordan to the climax of the novel: the bridge job and his own death. Critics have tended to read the end of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as hopeful, framing Jordan's death as for the good of the community. Such readings often heavily draw on Hemingway's the isolationist politics before the Spanish Civil War, with various scholars arguing Hemingway's heavy emotional and political investment in Spain led him to a deeper appreciation of his own connection to humanity after the war.<sup>36</sup> These readings are unsurprising in the context of the novel, since Jordan frames his own death as for the good of the others. For example,

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<sup>36</sup> See Michael K. Solow's "A Clash of Certainties, Old and New: *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and the Inner War of Ernest Hemingway" and William T. Moynihan's "The Martyrdom of Robert Jordan."

Jordan thinks to himself, “He knew he himself was nothing, and he knew death was nothing. He knew that truly, as truly as he knew anything.” (393). In this moment Jordan experiences a loss of self similarly to earlier in the novel when he thinks, “he was not usually worried because he did not give any importance to what happened to himself...It was only giving importance to what happened to you if you were caught that made it difficult” (4). Unlike earlier in the novel, however, when Jordan surrenders himself at the end, it is for the greater good of the community as he thinks “*And if you wait and hold [the fascists] up even a little while or just get the officer that may make all the difference*” (470). He views his decision to stay behind and die at the bridge as the only way to help save the guerillas he has come to value.

However, while the Hemingway frames Jordan’s death as a sacrificial act to save his comrades, the historical context that surrounds the novel, does not support this reading. While *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is set in 1937, in the midst of the war, the novel was written and published in 1940, a year after the Republicans lost to Franco’s troops. Michael K. Solow notes, the bridge job is based on the Segovia Offensive that “turned out to be inconclusive to the war’s outcome” (116) and did little to prevent the ultimate fascist victory in 1939. By the time the novel was published, Hemingway’s audience would have known that the mission Jordan died for was inconsequential and that the war as a whole was already lost.

Even more significantly, it’s reasonable to assume that Jordan’s participation in the war and particularly his time in the mountains would actually have endangered the very people his self-sacrifice is meant to protect. Though Jordan hopes that he will be able to hold off enough of the fascists troops to allow Pablo and his band to escape, it is



unlikely the guerillas live much longer after the bridge job. As Pilar's, Joaquín's, and Maria's stories show, acts of rebellion during the war are often followed by fascist retribution, such as the destruction of villages and the execution of family members. In addition, historically, retribution took the form of widespread Francoist Repression. As historian Julius Ruiz states, "Although Francoist general Ramón Salas Larrazábal, claimed in 1977 that there were no more than 22,716 executions, local studies indicate a figure of approximately 50,000. It is also likely that the number of inmates in Francoist jails by November 1940 exceeds the 280,000 figure admitted by the regime in 1946" (171). In other words, if we imagine the guerillas in the novel as real Republican fighters, even if they manage to escape the mountain, they would likely fall victim to Franco's later purge of Republicans after the war. By forcing the band out of hiding and goading them into a failed military mission, Jordan has opened up the guerillas to political exile and execution through his very presence in the mountains. Jordan seems at least subconsciously aware of this fact, at the moment of death when he is unable to fully imagine the guerillas' escape beyond the next morning: "Think about them O. K. tonight. Think about them travelling, all night. Think about them hiding up tomorrow. Think about them. God damn it, think about them. *That's just as far as I can think about them*, he said" (470). Jordan's inability and unwillingness to imagine the guerillas making it all the way to safety and surviving the war highlights the historical fact of retribution and the foreign soldier's complicity in their death as the leader of the bridge job.

Given the bleak outlook for the guerillas in the text, it is hardly surprising that the novel ends right at the moment of Jordan's death. However, it was not originally where Hemingway planned to end the novel. Indeed, the original draft of *For Whom the Bell*

*Tolls* included an epilogue to show, as Hemingway says in a letter to his editor Maxwell Perkins in August of 1940, “that good generals suffer after an unsuccessful attack (which isn’t new); that they get over it (that’s a little newer)” (Brucoli 291). According to Hemingway and Perkins’s letters, the epilogue included a scene of Karkov and Golz reflecting on the failed Segovia and the bridge as well as a scene in which Andrés returns to the mountain cave only to find it abandoned and his fellow guerillas either dead or gone. Ultimately Hemingway decided to forgo the epilogue entirely, ending the novel instead with Jordan taking aim at Lieutenant Berrendo “feel[ing] his heart beating against the pine needle floor” (471). This final line hearkens back to the first moment in the novel where Jordan lies on the ground overlooking the bridge before he meets the guerillas. However, in the final line, Jordan feels connected to the Spanish earth and to the people for whom he is about to die. Hemingway acknowledges the symbolic power of this moment in his letters to Perkins, remarking, “You see he’s laying there on the pine needles at the start and that is where he is at the end. He has had his problem and all his life before him at the start and he has all his life in those days and, at the end there is only death there for him and he truly isn’t afraid of it at all because he has a chance to finish his mission” (291). However, Jordan succeeds in completing more than just the bridge job. As the sacrificial nature of his death suggests, part of what Jordan is able to finish at the end of the novel is his education. He is finally able to recognize his connection to all humanity and his role as savior for the other fighters. By ending the novel with Jordan’s sacrifice, not Andrés’s sorrow or Golz and Karkov’s coldness, Jordan’s death remains a legitimate martyrdom; readers are not allowed to question whether his time in the mountains did more harm than good.

Because the novel ends immediately after the bridge job, we are encouraged to read *For Whom the Bell Tolls* outside of the context of the Spanish Civil War, even though the war is the focus of the narrative. In essence, the novel is less about Spain than it is about Jordan's, and perhaps Hemingway's, development and self-sacrifice. By agreeing to die for others, Jordan demonstrates the power and importance of the American expatriate subject. From the start of the text, Jordan is more educated and politically savvy than the guerillas that he recruits, and through his time in the mountains he gains an appreciation of his connection to all mankind. Together, these characteristics set Jordan above the local Spaniards, and position the expatriate figure as a savior of the uncivilized, capable of freeing the poor and oppressed from the threat of fascism and from their own weakness.

Jordan's final role as savior of the Spanish people is the perfect culmination of the slum tourist experience. By agreeing to save the Spaniards, Jordan becomes morally superior to the locals he interacts with, reinstating the power structures that the slum tourism experience is meant to deconstruct. I argue this positions the American expatriate as a "white savior" figure in the context of the novel. The white savior figure is a trope in literature and social justice work in which "a white messianic character saves a lower- or working-class, usually urban or isolated, nonwhite character from a sad fate" (Hughey 1). The trope is closely linked to other exploitative cross-cultural interactions like slum- and poverty tourism that tie charitable work across social and racial classes to personal fulfillment. It has received growing attention in the twenty-first century through critiques of modern social justice efforts. However, the phenomenon is certainly not new. As sociologist Matthew Hughey notes, "Terms such as 'noble savage,' 'manifest destiny,'

'white man's burden,' and 'great white hope' refer to previous iterations of the complex relationship between the tropes of the white savior and the dysfunctional dark 'other' in need of saving" (8). The white savior goes back centuries in literature, particularly in literature that proposes charitable action on the part of upper class Europeans for the lower classes, "often guided by a logic that racializes and separates people into those who are redeemers (whites) and those who are redeemed or in need of redemption (nonwhites)" (Hughey 2). Though in much of Western culture the white savior trope is "structured by a white-nonwhite binary" (Hughey 8-9), I argue the idea of a white savior can transcend the boundaries of traditional race relations, just as slum tourism can be extended into international war zones. In the case of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, issues of class, nationality, and language replace the racial binary in the white savior trope, separating the cultured American from the lower-class local guerillas.

In many ways, the white savior trope *relies* on this kind of separation between the savior figure and the dysfunctional other. Though the savior enters into the community of the Other, the racial, economic, or political power structure remains in place in their interactions. The savior must be granted access to the Other's life and experiences while also maintaining dominance over them. In this sense, the expatriate subject becomes an ideal figure to fulfill the trope, and the slum tourist expatriate in particular. Because the expatriate simultaneously exists as both an insider and an outsider in foreign spaces, they are better able to negotiate their role and power within foreign communities. As mentioned above as part of my definition of slum tourism, part of the slum tourist experience is a negotiation of the varying mobility between the tourist subject and local subjects. In the case of the expatriate tourist, there is a high level of mobility as the

expatriate is already less constrained by the conventions of nation and culture than a traditional tourist subject. As a result, the expatriate tourist is able to choose when to identify or disassociate with various local communities in a way that affords the expatriate power and influence.

Within *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, this translates into Jordan choosing when and how he identifies with the community of guerillas he recruits for the bridge job. Through his interactions with the guerillas and their willingness to share the experiences of war with him, Jordan becomes a part of local community as part of a process of self-discovery. At the end of the novel, however, Jordan separates himself from that community, reestablishing the power dynamic between himself and the guerillas; throughout the latter half of the novel, phrases like “these people” and “all of you” replace previous uses of “we” to set Jordan apart from the communal experiences and identity of the locals. After it becomes clear that the bridge job was not successful, this separation is made explicit when Jordan rebukes Pilar for the band’s actions

‘We lost two at the sawmill,’ Pilar said, trying to make him understand.

‘So I saw,’ Robert Jordan said. ‘Did you do something stupid?’

“Go and obscurity thyself, *Inglés*,” Pilar said. ‘Fernando and Eladio were men, too.’

‘...I can cover here better than thee.’

‘Thou art to cover Pablo.’

‘The hell with Pablo. Let him cover himself with *mierda*.’

‘Nay, *Inglés*. He came back. He has fought much below there. Though has not listened? He is fighting now. Against something bad. Do you not hear?’

‘I’ll cover him. But obscenity all of you. Thou and Pablo both.’

‘*Inglés*,’ Pilar said. ‘Calm thyself. I have been with thee in this as no one could be. Pablo did thee a wrong but he returned’

‘If I had had the exploder the old man would not have been killed. I could have blown it from here.’ (447)

Unlike Pilar and the others, Jordan has no need to forgive or understand Pablo, nor does he have any more reason to trust Pilar. Instead, “[n]ow it was over he was lonely, detached and unelated and he hated every one he saw” (447). As the passage above suggests, Pablo becomes a particularly salient symbol of Jordan’s final separation from the locals. Disregard for Pablo prompts Jordan to criticize Pilar’s leadership, and Pablo’s decision to kill the other fighters who were not part of his band leads Jordan to think to himself, “It is none of your business now. They have done all that you could expect and more. This is an inter-tribal matter” (455). Though in the middle of the novel Jordan seems to set Pablo apart from the other guerillas, after the bridge job Jordan distinguishes *himself* as outside of the “tribe.” By grouping the other guerillas with Pablo (a character Jordan continually associates with negative aspects of Spanish identity), Jordan sets himself above the band as a morally superior outsider. This frames his willingness to die for the local guerillas as a sacrificial act. He functions as a savior of oppressed people and as a virtuous American subject.

Understanding Robert Jordan as a white savior helps to make sense of his continued detachment from the rest of the band even after the bridge job. Jordan’s belief that his expertise and comprehension of the situation are superior to the locals allows him to serve as a “the knightly savior of the dysfunctional 'others' who are redeemable as long

as they consent to assimilation and obedience to their white benefactors of class, capital, and compassion" (Hughey 8). The local guerillas prove their capacity for salvation by willingly participating in the bridge job and following Jordan's orders. As a result, Jordan agrees to die for them as a reward for their obedience and as a way to usher them out of tribalism.

By positioning Jordan as a white savior and ending the novel before the fall of the Spanish Republic, Jordan becomes an aspirational figure for American audiences. He symbolizes the power and superiority of an American abroad. After all, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* it is the American who is capable of saving Spain and the world. Jordan assigns this grandiose purpose to his mission in the moments before the bridge job, as he thinks "But remember this that as long as we can hold them here we keep the fascists tied up. They can't attack any other country until they finish with us and they can never finish with us" (432). Though at this point in the narrative, Jordan still counts himself a part of the guerilla band, he is still the person with the authority to complete the mission and to help the others escape to safety. In the end, it is the expatriate who is the hero, not the locals.

Jordan's heroism is a key factor in the white savior trope by engaging the audience in the same experience of poverty and oppression that Jordan has in Spain. The white savior is both a natural culmination of the slum tourism experience within the novel and a key facet in the representation of slum tourism for the audience. As New York Times journalist Nicholas Kristoff remarks when discussing his own use of white savior figures in his writing, "I tend to focus on some foreigner, often some American, who's doing something there....One way of getting people to read at least a few grafs in is to

have some kind of foreign protagonist, some American who they can identify with as a bridge character.” Whether Hemingway intended it or not, Robert Jordan serves a similar purpose for American readers in the 1940s. Jordan provides a bridge for audiences to enter into the slum tourism experience that both acknowledges global oppression and justifies American intervention. In the immediate aftermath of the novel’s publication, such intervention likely referred the US joining the global fight against fascism in World War II, helping American audiences see that, as Solow puts it, “there are larger struggles beyond our borders for which honorable people are willing to fight and die” (117). However, in a broader context, Jordan’s martyrdom also justifies the American expatriate project. Jordan is not merely an expatriate seeking escape or entertainment like the wayward expatriates in *The Sun Also Rises*. Rather, Jordan’s expatriation is a virtuous self-sacrifice for the good of the European Other who is incapable of defending themselves

## **Conclusion**

Focusing on the spatial relationships between expatriate characters and the foreign spaces of Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* draws attention to the ways in which expatriate modernists laid claim to foreign spaces both for their own personal artistic development as well as for broader tourist consumption by modernist audiences. As shown above, a spatial reading of these two novels reveals the tourist function inherent in expatriate travel. Additionally, the novels extend the tourist function beyond the borders of the literature by transforming the novels and the spaces they depict into tourist objects. In reading Hemingway’s novels, audiences are familiarized with the foreign spaces of Spain and shown how those spaces could be shaped for the benefit of



foreigners like themselves. As a result, readers become complicit in the tourist spectacle of the novels as they consume the spaces and relationships within them.

While extending the tourist relationship to readers may seem innocuous enough, it has real-life consequences. Novels like *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* encouraged modernist readers to fantasize and fetishize Spain as a destination, and such fantasies continue into the present day. For example, a brief google search on tours of “Hemingway’s Spain” returns dozens of blogs, articles, and guides for visiting Hemingway’s version of Madrid and Pamplona. Such artifacts are direct parallels of the 1920s guidebooks Allsion Nadia Field describes in “Expatriate Lifestyle as Tourist Destination: *The Sun Also Rises* and Experiential Travelogues of the Twenties.” Guidebooks like *Paris with the Lid Lifted* (1927) and *The Paris of the Novelists* (1919) made similar claims to expatriate haunts in Paris at the height of the modernist expatriate movement. Though Hemingway disapproved of the way in which such guidebooks turned Paris into a tourist destination, his own novels prompted a similar process in Spain, suggesting that there is an element of exploitation and appropriation inherent in the expatriate modernist project.<sup>37</sup>

Understanding expatriate modernism as at least in part an exploitation of foreign spaces challenges the notion of modernism and expatriation as liberatory. Rather than acculturating to foreign cultures and rejecting traditional power dynamics, modernist expatriates laid claim to foreign spaces for their own entertainment and use, a process that more imperialistic than cosmopolitan. The literature produced in these conditions is

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<sup>37</sup> See Herlihy-Mera’s “Ernest Hemingway Abroad: ‘He was a Sort of Joke, in Fact’” in *In Paris or Paname: Hemingway’s Expatriate Nationalism* and Hemingway’s article for the *Toronto Star Weekly* in March 1922, “Wild Night Music of Paris Makes Visitor Feel a Man of the World.”

not excluded from the process of exploitation either. Indeed, as Edward Said argues in *Culture and Imperialism*, narrative often plays a key role. According to Said, “The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative” (*Culture and Imperialism* xii-xiii). In essence, the ability to narrate a space helps determine of who will have power within it. Unsurprisingly, Said cites the novel as “the aesthetic object whose connections to the expanding societies of Britain and France is particularly interesting to study” (xii). While Hemingway is not engaged in the kind of colonial subjugation Said explores in *Culture and Imperialism*, I argue that the power to represent and thereby claim a foreign space is equally at stake in expatriate fiction like *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Understanding the modernist expatriate project as part of a tradition of exploitation raises questions about values that underlie the modernist aesthetic and the way we conceive of modernism as an artistic movement

# REMEMBERED HOMELANDS: SPATIAL DISTANCE AND ABSTRACTION IN JOYCE'S CITY

He asked me was it true I was going away and why. Told him the shortest way to Tara was via Holyhead.

James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artists as a Young Man*

In *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway recounts an evening with Hadley at Michaud's, a restaurant on the Left Bank. Remembering the place, he remarks,

Michaud's was an exciting and expensive restaurant for us. It was where Joyce ate with his family then, he and his wife against the wall, Joyce peering at the menu through his thick glasses holding the menu up in one hand; Nora by him, a hearty but delicate eater; Giorgio, thin, foppish, sleek-headed from the back; Lucia with heavy curly hair, a girl not quite yet grown; all of them talking Italian. (56).

Hemingway's admiration of Joyce is clear, both in this passage and in other moments of both *A Moveable Feast* and Hemingway's letters.<sup>38</sup> In his conception of Paris, James Joyce is a celebrity, made famous by the controversial publication of *Ulysses* and his relationships with other expatriates like Sylvia Beach, Ezra Pound, and T. S. Eliot.

Hemingway's portrayal of Joyce in the passage above depicts the famous Irishman as an aloof, upper-class figure, distinguished by his presence in an expensive restaurant and, even more so, by his cosmopolitan attitude. For the young Hemingway, Joyce is an aspirational figure, the image of a successful modernist cosmopolitan.

Joyce moved to Paris in 1920 at the recommendation of Ezra Pound; bolstered by Pound's support and the success of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, he arrived on

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<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Hemingway makes a similar comment in a March 1922 letter to Sherwood Anderson where he states, "Joyce has a most god-damn wonderful book. Meantime the report is that he and all his family are starving but you can find the whole Celtic crew of them every night in Michaud's where Binney and I can only afford to go about once a week."

the Left Bank already a celebrity (Ellman 479, 485). As Ellman notes, “Joyce’s private life was suddenly a public concern...In a few days he had met dozens of people, in a few weeks he had received visitors, reverent or merely curious from New York, London, and Dublin, made new friends and enemies, and played the starveling and then the seigneur, both rather convincingly” (485). Though he intended to stay only a few weeks, Joyce quickly became a fixture of the Paris expatriate scene, staying until 1940 when he fled to Zurich to escape the Nazi occupation. However, despite his presence in Paris at the height of the Lost Generation’s time there, in many ways Joyce remains distinct from other expatriate figures discussed in previous chapters. While both Hemingway and Stein come from affluent backgrounds, Joyce’s childhood was marked by financial instability and poverty. Hemingway and Stein are Americans; Joyce is Irish. Most notably, Hemingway and Stein chose expatriation, but Joyce believed himself an exile, forced out of Ireland for his refusal to conform to social or political conventions.<sup>39</sup>

Understanding Joyce’s artistic identity as exilic rather than merely expatriate provides a radically different framework for interpreting Joyce’s relationship to his national space. Unlike modernist expatriates like Stein and Hemingway who frequently depict international spaces in their work, Joyce’s fiction remains deeply connected to Dublin even decades after his departure. As Indian author and exile Salman Rushdie notes, this is likely a direct result of Joyce’s exile. Describing his own relationship to India, Rushdie states, “It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrant or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt” (10). In essence, because of its loss, the

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<sup>39</sup> For a more detailed account of the critical conversation regarding James Joyce’s exilic identity, see Michael Patrick Gillespie’s *James Joyce and the Exilic Imagination*.

homeland plays an ever-present role in the exile's consciousness, redefining their identity and worldview through both trauma and nostalgia. Michael Gillespie describes the effect as producing a deeper awareness of dependence on the homeland as the "cultural context against which the self has been measured" at the moment when that cultural context is placed permanently out of reach (5). The exile, in Gillespie's estimation, easily becomes "sometimes sentimental and sometimes bitter" towards the homeland as identity is reconstructed around the exile's new relationship to it from a distance.

However, despite the differences between Joyce's self-imposed exile from Ireland and the less contentious emigrations of other expatriates in the modernist movement, Joyce's fiction includes similar concerns as those identified above in other modernist texts. Indeed, there is substantial criticism on the spatial elements and narration in Joyce's work, particularly on *Ulysses*—perhaps the most spatially obsessed novel of the twentieth century.<sup>40</sup> While the spatial representation in *Ulysses* is perhaps the most famous case in Joyce's oeuvre, the questions of spatial identity that are central in that text represent a culmination of Joyce's argument about space across his fiction, starting with the short story cycle *Dubliners*. Additionally, Joyce's engagement with spatial relationships in his work equally positions those relationships as a dominant concern of modernism thanks largely to Joyce's prominence in the movement. Indeed, Michael Levenson argues that Joyce's career follows the trajectory of modernism itself, from the "small self-contained unit—the Image, the epiphany, the short story—toward ambitious, sometimes sprawling, works of synthesis" (270). This is further confirmed by T. S.

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<sup>40</sup> For examples of spatial analyses of Joyce's work, see *Making Space in the Works of James Joyce* (eds. Valérie Bénéjam and John Bishop), Jack Morgan's *Joyce's City: History, Politics, and Life in Dubliners*, Liam Lanigan's *James Joyce, Urban Planning, and Irish Modernism: Dublins of the Future*, and *Joyce and the City: The Significance of Place* (Ed. Michael Begnal).

Eliot's assertion that *Ulysses* is "the most important expression which the present age has found; it is a book to which we are all indebted, and from which none of us can escape" (175). Certainly, Joyce represents the aesthetics and values of High Modernism more than Ernest Hemingway or even Gertrude Stein, and the continuity of spatial representation in his fiction as well as in Hemingway and Stein's, positions this representational strategy as not merely a product of the American Lost Generation, but a more foundational concern of modernism itself. Instead, Joyce allows us to identify a fundamental point of intersection between American modernism and the transnational tradition in which representations of space include both representations of the inhabited spaces of expatriation and representations of the abandoned spaces of the homeland. Therefore, by tracking the development of Joyce's representation of Dublin from his first attempts to reclaim the city from the ideological constraints of Church, State, and Nation in *Dubliners* to his final attempts to reconstruct the homeland from memory in *Ulysses*, I argue we can also track the development of the modernist aesthetic and its struggle to represent an increasingly fragmented and traumatic twentieth-century reality.

### ***Dubliners* and National Identity as Local Space**

*Dubliners* is a unique text within Joyce's oeuvre. Not only is the text more stylistically coherent than his later, more experimental work in *Portrait* and later *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake*, it is also the only one of Joyce's major publications that was written (at least in part) while the author still resided in Ireland. This latter difference in particular codes *Dubliners* as a uniquely spatial text, rooted in the physical spaces of Dublin by virtue of its composition. Even the short story cycle's title distinguishes *Dubliners* from Joyce's later works via spatial reference. While both *A Portrait of the*

*Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses* have titles that are based in the universal—of the bildungsroman as a global genre and of the Greco-Roman Classical tradition—*Dubliners*, in contrast, rejects globalism. Instead, it locates the text within a uniquely Irish context, based in the particular, everyday experience of the local Irish culture. From the title page of the text, readers are placed within local experience, asked to identify the city of Dublin as both a particular site of narrative development and as a fundamental characteristic of the city's people; the title, after all, does not simply refer to the city, but rather connects the city to its inhabitants' very identities. Indeed, in an early letter to prospective publisher Grant Richards in October 1906, Joyce comments on the title, stating, "[O]n account of many circumstances which I cannot detail here, the expression 'Dubliner' seems to me to have some meaning and I doubt whether the same can be said for such words as 'Londoner' and 'Parisian' both of which have been used by writers as titles" (*Selected Letters of James Joyce* 122). Though other critics, including Ezra Pound attempted to frame *Dubliners* as universal, Joyce's observation suggests he believed that to be a Dubliner is to be more than simply a resident of the city.<sup>41</sup> Rather, in Joyce's estimation, Dubliners are linked through a particular shared experience of Irish life and of Dublin as a shared space.

For decades the scholarship on *Dubliners* has been dominated by analyses on the Euclidean geometric figure of the *gnomon* and the theme of *paralysis*, both terms linked together in the book's opening paragraph. In the text, the words are connected via their sounds ("It had always sounded strangely in my ears" [3]), but they also signal a thematic

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<sup>41</sup> In his review of *Dubliners* in the *The Egoist* in 1914, Ezra Pound remarks that Joyce "gives us things as they are, not only for Dublin, but for every city. Erase the local names and a few specifically local allusions, and a few historic events of the past, and substitute a few different local names, allusions, and events, and these stories could be retold of any town" (29).

reading of the stories as “being loosed or disabled at the side” (Friedrich 422). The paralytic reading of *Dubliners* is further endorsed by Joyce’s own remarks on the text in his now infamous 1905 letter to publisher Grant Richards: “I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to me the centre of paralysis” (*Selected Letters of James Joyce* 134). Joyce’s own statement, along with the themes of the stories themselves contribute to the ubiquity of this reading in Joyce scholarship.

However, while the paralytic reading has prevailed for decades, more recent scholars have worked to extricate *Dubliners* from the limits of Joyce’s own cynicism towards his homeland.<sup>42</sup> As Anne Fogarty notes, “Merely to see the stories in *Dubliners*, however, as exercises in naturalism that provide us with a relentless series of vignettes of a society in a state of perpetual self-delusion is ultimately to foreclose the tensions and ambiguities of these complex and elusive narratives and to reduce them to a narrow and inflexible set of moral designs” (“Remapping Nationalism” 81). Instead, many modern scholars, including Fogarty, have liberated *Dubliners* from stock readings of its “tropes of paralysis and stagnation” to reclaim the text’s vitality, movement, and potential critiques of colonialism’s and urban life’s effects on the Irish subject (Culleton & Scheible 2). In these new readings, the theme of paralysis is not fully disavowed, but rather such readings transform our understanding of Joyce’s relationship to Irish history and nationalism. As Claire A. Culleton and Ellen Scheible note, through these new readings, “Joyce’s ambivalent view of early twentieth-century Irish history is both diagnosis and prognosis, temporary paralysis on the brink of conscious awakening” (3).

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<sup>42</sup> For additional examples of readings of *Dubliners* that resist the trope of paralysis, see *Rethinking Joyce’s Dubliners* (ed. Claire A. Culleton and Ellen Scheible)



Drawing on these new readings of *Dubliners* as a potentially liberatory text, I argue the conscious awakening of Ireland to its own history and potential is accomplished in part through the spatial representation of Dublin as an intensely local space. Joyce frames *Dubliners* as a text written for a local audience by exploring what Fogarty calls “symbolic richness of his native Dublin” and submerging “us in its material density” (“Remapping Nationalism” 80). Indeed, the collection is filled with countless examples of Dublin’s material culture of the early twentieth century, the names and characters of real residents, and innumerable references to the landmarks and housing districts of the city. From the detailed description of the boys’ route in “An Encounter” from North Strand Road to Ringsend, to the plum cake Maria buys on Henry Street in “Clay,” to the dozens of other local references throughout the collection, the city is depicted from the gaze of a Dubliner in minute detail. Through the hyper local spatial representations of Dublin throughout the text, the city becomes an inescapable part of local identity and means of liberating the paralyzed Irish subject from colonial subjugation. Likewise, by representing Dublin as an intensely local space, comprehensible only through local lived experience, Joyce reclaims the city as an Irish, rather than a colonial space and makes it illegible to the colonizer.

*“A Little Cloud” and the Spaces of Colonial Subjugation*

As a text, *Dubliners* is deeply engaged in disentangling Irish identity from colonial influence, and one method by which Joyce attempts this decolonization is by utilizing the colonized spaces of Dublin as the site of his characters’ self-critique and development. By explicitly placing the Dubliners of his story in conversation with the colonial landmarks that characterize turn of the century Dublin, Joyce interrogates the

colonial psyche and reorients the reader to a Dublin that is identifiably Irish and in conflict with colonial influence. While all of the stories in *Dubliners* confront the colonial identity of Dublin in some way, few do so as efficiently and cuttingly as the eighth story in the collection, “A Little Cloud.” Written in 1906 after the original manuscript of *Dubliners* was sent to publisher Grant Richards, “A Little Cloud” is the first of the “maturity” stories in the collection and tells the story of law clerk Little Chandler reconnecting with his friend Gallaher who is employed in the London printing business. Throughout the story, Chandler copes with first envy and then disdain for his expatriate friend, leading the disaffected law clerk to vent his resentment on his wife and infant son. The tale offers a scathing critique of Irish masculinity, paralysis, and expatriation all within the boundaries of an explicitly colonial space.

Much like the *Dubliners* as a whole, “A Little Cloud” begins in spatial terms by locating Little Chandler’s friendship with Gallaher at the North Wall of Dublin—a dock from which Irish travelers typically embarked for Liverpool (57). As Jasmine Muliken notes, the North Wall is a “place of frustrated dreams” for Little Chandler, but it is also a place of expatriation (“North Wall”). By beginning the story at the site of Gallaher’s escape to London, Joyce frames the narrative and Chandler’s resentment toward Irish expatriation and particularly expatriation to the colonial metropole. From the start, Gallaher’s relative freedom and potential at the North Wall and later at the London press are contrasted to Chandler’s limitations as a law clerk who “turned often from his tiresome writing to gaze out of the office window...[and] felt how useless it was to struggle against fortune” (57). Even Chandler’s exit at the end of the workday is clouded by subjugation as he “emerged under the feudal arch of King’s Inn,” both a spatial

reference and a political reference to Chandler's relative serfdom as a lowly law clerk in Dublin (Joyce, *James Joyce's Dubliners: An Annotated Edition* 63).

"A Little Cloud" continues its spatial narration as the story follows Little Chandler through the north of Dublin to just South of the Liffey as he walks to Corless's pub where he is meeting Gallaher. On his journey through the city, Chandler reflects on the city's character and its influence on him. Typically, Chandler avoids confrontations with the physical spaces of Dublin: "It was his habit to walk swiftly in the street even by day and whenever he found himself in the city late at night he hurried on his way apprehensively and excitedly" (58). On the night of the story, however, Chandler is uniquely aware of the class dynamics that characterize the city as he walks past "gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roistered" (59) that have now been transformed into tenements (58) towards the bustling commercial district of Capel Street (59). However, though his journey is described in great detail, with streets, intersections, and landmarks carefully named, Chandler's mind remains fixed on Gallaher and his successful escape to London. In his short walk down Capel Street, for example, he thinks of Gallaher's success until "[f]or the first time his soul revolted against the dull inelegance of Capel Street. There was no doubt about it: if you wanted to succeed you had to go away. You could do nothing in Dublin" (59).<sup>43</sup> The juxtaposition of the particularities of Dublin city and Capel Street and Chandler's dreams of expatriation and escape demonstrate the ways in which colonial influence on Dublin keeps the city and its potential invisible even to those who walk its streets.

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<sup>43</sup> Jasmine Muliken estimates it would take Chandler approximately 7 minutes from Henrietta St to Grattan Bridge ("Capel Street").

Chandler's walk through Capel Street finally leads him to Grattan Bridge. Within the story, Grattan bridge serves a dual symbolic function. First, the bridge represents a particularly fraught colonial space in Chandler's journey. Originally built in 1676 and named Essex Bridge after Arthur Capell, British royalist and the first Earl of Essex, the name was changed in 1875 to honor Irish Parliamentarian Henry Grattan ("Grattan Bridge"). As Phillips and Hamilton note, name changes are not uncommon in Ireland, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when talk of rebellion and Irish independence was common: "Name change appears to be a popular aspect for the Republic's means of demonstrating change 'from the old order,' and there also seems to be an apparent need for commemoration. (162). Grattan Bridge is part of this shift into the new order; Henry Grattan, an Anglo-Irishman who served in both Irish and British Parliament, is particularly well known for his opposition of the 1800 Act of Union, his support of Catholic emancipation, and his efforts to win legislative independence for Ireland in the late eighteenth century ("Henry Grattan"). Chandler's pause on Grattan Bridge then "adds an additional layer to the tension between England and Ireland already at work in the story" (Muliken, "Grattan Bridge"). While on Grattan Bridge, Chandler observes the lower classes of Dublin as he "looked down the river towards the lower quays and pitied the poor stunted houses" (59). The observations lead Chandler to contemplate a career in poetry, but he is dependent on Gallaher getting his work published in a London paper and marketing it as part of the sentimental "Celtic school by reason of the melancholy tone of his poems" (60). Chandler's dependence on British approval and support of his creative work recalls the legislative dependence of Ireland on British government during Grattan's Parliament in the eighteenth-century. Indeed, in

Grattan's fight for Irish legislative independence, he officially demanded the repeal of Poyning's Law, which required all Irish legislation to be approved by British Parliament before taking effect. Therefore, Chandler's reliance on British approval while standing on Grattan Bridge illustrates the long, fraught history of colonial influence on the Irish subject in both political and personal matters. More than a century after Grattan's opposition to the Act of Union, Ireland remained under British control and Irish creative production still relied on British support.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to the colonial history embedded in Grattan Bridge's name, within the story the bridge serves a second function as the transition point from Chandler's everyday reality in Dublin towards his dreams of expatriation and success abroad. As Muliken notes, "Essentially, the bridge over the Liffey is a geographical parallel to Little Chandler's psychological geography as he emerges from what he considers the confines of his home to new opportunities in new lands" ("Grattan Bridge"). Chandler views his journey to the south side of the Liffey as symbolic of his aspirations to find success abroad. While crossing the bridge and thinking of his potential poetry about the Dublin slums, he thinks, "Every step brought him nearer to London, farther from his own sober inartistic life" (60). The transition from reality into his personal aspirations severs Chandler from the material world of Dublin, leaving him so lost in his reverie that he misses his turn to get to Corless's pub. In this sense, the bridge crossing represents a break in the narrative's style. Though the story is careful to track Chandler's movements through the Dublin streets up until the bridge, after he crosses over to join Gallaher, the

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<sup>44</sup> Ironically, similar influence hindered the publication of *Dubliners* as both publishers Grant Richards and George Roberts saw the text as unlikely to succeed in part because it was about Ireland. According to Clare Hutton, Joyce was told by Richards "that *Dubliners* suffered the double disadvantage of being 'about Ireland' and 'a collection of short stories'" (507).

spatial descriptions fall away; he becomes mentally and narratively disconnected from the local space as he increasingly engages with fantasies of expatriation.

Despite Little Chandler's dreams of expatriation and literary success in London as he walks through Dublin, when confronted with the reality of Irish cosmopolitanism in the form of Corless's Pub and Ignatius Gallaher, Chandler fails to escape his subjectivity as a colonial Other. Indeed, when Chandler arrives at Corless's his body is rendered invisible in the upper-class international space: "The bar seemed to him to be full of people and he felt that the people were observing him curiously. He glanced quickly to right and left (frowning slightly to make his errand appear serious) but when his sight cleared a little he saw that nobody had turned to look at him" (60). Chandler's insignificance as a colonial subject is further emphasized by Gallaher's dismissive treatment of the law clerk's provincial life, as Gallaher brags of his trips to Paris and his sexual triumphs (62). Chandler understands that Gallaher's disdain for Chandler's own domestic simplicity is also a mistreatment of Dublin as a legitimate European capital. When Chandler asks Gallaher if Paris is an immoral city compared to London or Dublin, Gallaher remarks, "London!...It's six of one and half a dozen of the other" unlike "jogalong Dublin where nothing is known of such things" (64). The distinction Gallaher makes between Dublin and the rest of Europe is not lost on Chandler who refers to Gallaher's treatment of Ireland and of Chandler himself as unjustly "patronizing" (66) as both the nation and Chandler as a colonial subject are infantilized and robbed of agency in the eyes of London society.

However, though Chandler recognizes and resents Gallaher's success abroad and his remarks about Dublin and Irish life, he fails to translate that resentment into

productive action. Instead, after meeting with Gallaher, Chandler is immediately depicted at home, tethered to his domestic life by his commitments to his family and to his debts. Left holding his infant son while his wife goes out to get tea,<sup>45</sup> Chandler things himself a “prisoner for life” bound to the crying child in his arms and to his financial obligation to pay for his furniture purchased “on the hire system” (68).<sup>46</sup> Unable to physically expatriate, Chandler attempts to transcend the domestic space, turning significantly to British poetry—Byron’s “On the Death of a Young Lady, Cousin of the Author, and Very Dear to Him” (68). By continuing to rely on British culture for comfort and escape, even after his negative interaction with Gallaher, Chandler privileges the needs and values of the colonizer. Likewise, as he tries to escape into Byron’s poetry, he is inhibited by the cries of his infant child until he eventually screams in the baby’s face. The rejection of his own child, symbolic of Ireland’s future, immediately results in feelings of shame, remorse and further distance between Chandler and his Irish life and identity. By ending the story with Chandler’s failure to either escape into British culture *or* be accepted by Irish culture in the form of his wife and child, Joyce suggests that the cause of paralysis is not the city of Dublin or Irish provinciality, but rather Chandler’s inability to overcome his dependence on the culture and material support of England as a colonizing nation.

*“The Dead” and a Revision of Irish Nationalism*

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<sup>45</sup> A task which reemphasizes the Chandler’s emasculation throughout the story as his wife completes Chandler’s own responsibilities while he is left to tend to domestic matters of childcare.

<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the primary barrier Chandler identifies when he wonders if it is “too late for him to try to live bravely like Gallaher” is that his furniture still needs to be paid for. As Jasmine Muliken notes, the financial burden of Chandler’s domestic situation illustrates that “he is already under the yoke of Dublin’s dependent economy” (“London”).

In contrast to “A Little Cloud,” the final story in *Dubliners*, “The Dead” offers an alternative to Chandler’s shameful submission to colonial values. Written in 1907 and the most critically acclaimed story in *Dubliners*, “The Dead” follows the reflections of middle-class Irishman Gabriel Conroy as he attends his elderly aunts’ holiday party and returns to his hotel room with his wife. Critics have frequently noted the complex treatment of nationalism and Irish identity within the text, as Joyce scrutinizes both the nationalist sentiments of the Gaelic Revival and the continental sympathies of Irishmen like Gabriel.<sup>47</sup> While the outcome of “The Dead” is not unequivocally in favor of either political position, its conclusion proposes a form of Irish nationalism that rejects cosmopolitan sympathies and colonial culture and instead embraces a history of sacrifice and liberation that is explicitly grounded in Ireland as a national space.

At the beginning of the narrative, Gabriel Conroy is similarly dismissive of Irish culture as his counterpart in “A Little Cloud.” Like Chandler who “felt himself superior to the people he passed” on Capel Street (59), Gabriel also believes himself above his aunts and the other party guests: “[T]heir grade of culture differed from his. He would only make himself ridiculous to them by quoting poetry to them which they could not understand. They would think that he was just airing his superior education” (155). However, while Chandler’s disdain for Irish provinciality is reinforced through his interactions with Gallaher (albeit to Chandler’s detriment), Gabriel is repeatedly criticized throughout the narrative for his dismissive treatment of Irish culture. His most vocal critic is Irish nationalist Molly Ivors who condemns Gabriel’s choice to write

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<sup>47</sup> For examples of the treatment of nationalism in “The Dead” see Anne Fogarty’s “Remapping Nationalism: The Politics of Space in Joyce’s *Dubliners*,” “Joyce and the Irish Literary Revival” in Emer Nolan’s *James Joyce and Nationalism*, Conor Carville’s “Modernism, Nationalism and Postcolonialism: Four Figures from ‘The Dead,’” and Earl G. Ingersoll’s “The Psychic Geography of Joyce’s ‘Dubliners.’”



literary criticism for the UK publication the *Daily Express*, his failure to learn Irish, and his refusal of her invitation to visit the Aran Isles instead of Continental Europe (163-164). In their confrontation, Molly and Gabriel represent two conflicting views of Irish national identity. As Anne Fogarty remarks, “[Gabriel’s] defence of his cycling trips abroad and his need to learn foreign languages pits his view of Ireland as part of an international, cosmopolitan community against [Molly’s] concept of the country as self-enclosed and defined by its origins in the idyllic purity of the Western hinterland of the Aran islands” (92). In essence, the early pages of the narrative reenact the struggle over how to define modern Irish identity at the turn of the century—whether to return to the idyllic nationalist past or advance towards a cosmopolitan future.

Additionally, Molly’s criticisms of Gabriel’s lack of nationalist sympathy reveal Gabriel’s own detachment from the Irish political and cultural context. Unable to “meet her charge” that he had written for the *Daily Express*, a conservative Dublin newspaper, Gabriel instead, claims a sort of political neutrality, telling Molly “he saw nothing political in writing reviews of books” (163). Gabriel’s refusal to understand the ways in which art and culture are tied up in politics recalls Little Chandler’s own tacit search for comfort in the culture of the colonizer. At this point in “The Dead” Gabriel fails to see how the intellectual labor he performs in writing for the *Daily Express* reinforces colonial power. Joyce represents this political and psychological point in spatial terms when he tells the story of Gabriel’s grandfather’s horse Johnny who fell in love with the horse in the statue of King William of Orange in Dublin. As Gabriel narrates, “Johnny came in sight of King Billy’s statue: and whether he fell in love with the horse King Bill sits on or whether he thought he was back again in the mill, anyhow he began to walk around the

statue” (182). The horse in the narrative shows an overlap in Irish labor (like the horse’s work at the mill) and tacit approval (even affection) for colonial power. Gabriel replicates this dynamic by laboring over book reviews for a conservative paper that upholds British supremacy in Ireland. Like the horse, Gabriel is unaware of the connection between his labor and colonial subjugation, and he continues to routinely perpetuate the dominance of British culture much in the way that Johnny walks mindlessly in circles around the statue.

As he prepares to leave the party, however, Gabriel is slowly drawn away from his colonial sympathies and back to Irish culture by the sight of his wife Greta listening to music at the top of the stairs. He sees Greta and immediately tries to make sense of the image: “There was grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were a symbol of something. He asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to distant music, a symbol of” (182). He discovers later that the song Greta hears is “The Lass of Aughrim,” an Irish ballad about an abandoned woman from the west of Ireland where Greta herself was raised.<sup>48</sup> Though Gabriel is unable to understand Greta’s symbolic significance in the moment, he is nonetheless overtaken by “a sudden tide of joy...She seemed to him so frail that he longed to defend her against something and then to be alone with her” (184-185). The mystery and vulnerability Gabriel associates with his wife in this moment connects her to a long history of Irish female figures standing in for the nation. As Proinsias MacCana states,

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<sup>48</sup> Importantly in the context of Irish subjugation, “The Lass of Aughrim” is a song about Irish peasant woman who is raped by an English lord, gives birth to a child, and is left standing in the rain begging the lord to grant her entrance to his castle (Cheng 37). While this makes the song an odd choice for Michael Furey to sing to the young Greta, in the context of “The Dead” it emphasizes Gabriel’s view of Greta as a frail woman in need of saving by a male Irishman.

In the Irish tradition it would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this idea of the land and its sovereignty conceived in the form of a woman. From the beginning of history and before, until the final dissolution of the Irish social order in the seventeenth century, traditional orthodox thought was dominated by this image of the *paella senilis*, the woman who is literally as old as the hills yet endlessly restored to youth through union with her rightful mate. (7)

In the early twentieth century, Irish Nationalists maintained the tradition of the “woman-nation” with figures like Cathleen ni Houlihan or the Hag of Baere who were prominent features of Irish Literary Revival.<sup>49</sup> Viewing Greta Conroy as a continuation of the woman-nation trope allows for a better understanding of Gabriel’s transition from apolitical cosmopolitanism towards a revised Irish national identity.

Gabriel’s movement towards more nationalist sympathies fills the second half of “The Dead” with the image of Greta at the top of the stairs marking a turning point in his personal development. As the couple leaves the party and travels back to their hotel, Gabriel shows an increased affiliation with the Irish landscape as he reflects on his life with Greta. Most notably, as their carriage passes over O’Connell’s bridge, Gabriel remarks on the “white man,” the statue of Irish nationalist and politician Daniel O’Connell and then nods “familiarily to it and waved his hand” gaily (187). According to Kurt Hochenauer, the bridge and its political implications “serve as the gateway to Gabriel’s political enlightenment after his encounter with Molly Ivors at his aunts’ home.” Additionally, the friendly attachment to O’Connell’s bridge in the second half of

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<sup>49</sup> For further reading on women and nationalism in the Irish literature and the Irish Literary Revival, see C. L. Innes’s *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935*, Maria-Elena Doyle’s “A Spindle for the Battle: Feminism, Myth, and the Woman-Nation in Irish Revival Drama,” Proinsias MacCana’s “Women in Irish Mythology,” and *Gender in Irish Writing* (ed. Toni O’Brien Johnson and David Cairns).

the narrative replaces Gabriel's previous attraction to another Dublin landmark during the party, the Wellington Monument. Twice during the party, Gabriel longs to be outside, standing at Fifteen Acres near the Wellington Monument. Both references to the monument occur at moments of political tension, first after Gabriel's anti-nationalist beliefs are challenged by Molly Ivors and second before he gives a speech criticizing the extremism of young Irish nationalists. Gabriel's references to the Wellington Monument are tied to his rejection of Irish culture as the statue commemorates Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, a British statesman and Dublin native who nonetheless "vehemently denied his link with the city" much like Gabriel attempts to do throughout the party (Fogarty 92). In contrast, O'Connell's bridge is an explicitly national space, rejoining Gabriel with his Irish homeland and moving him closer to political enlightenment.

Following their crossing of O'Connell's bridge, Greta remains Gabriel's guide on this journey to enlightenment, continuing to embody the role of woman-nation though with a more explicitly sexual purpose. Gabriel's joy at seeing Greta at the top of the stair is followed by his sexual arousal as they return to their hotel for the night. He experiences "a keen pang of lust" so strong that "only the stress of his nails against the palms of his hands held the wild impulse of his body in check" (187). The sexual desire he expresses mimics the sexual nature of the relationship between the mythic goddess of Ireland and the ancient ruling sovereigns of the land. As MacCana notes, in Irish mythology, the process of inducting a new king "took the form of a sacred marriage with the goddess who represented both the abstract sovereignty and the physical substance of his kingdom...the sexual elements remain deeply ingrained in the tales and poems which provide endless variations on this basic theme of king and goddess" (8). In this context,

Gabriel's desire to "overmaster" Greta in an act of sexual domination implies a break from Gabriel's previous colonial sympathies and a turn towards more traditional forms of Irish nationalism like those of the Irish Literary Revival.

His sexual desire is quashed, however, by Greta's failure to continue to play the role of the Irish woman-nation. Instead of serving a "passive idea in need of [Irish male] rescue" or a "maiden whose chaste charms entice soldiers into her service (Doyle 34), Greta fails to respond to Gabriel's sexual advances or "yield wholly to his arms" (*Dubliners* 189); rather than following the woman-nation trope by lamenting the loss of Irish independence and calling for a return of Irish masculinity, Greta instead mourns the loss of a sickly young man who died when she was a girl in Galway (190-191). Greta's memories of Michael Furey subvert the masculine ideals touted by the Irish Literary Revival and reinforced through figures like Cathleen ni Houlihan. Instead of a virile Irish hero capable of saving the victimized Irish woman, Michael Furey is a tragic, feminized Irishman whose singing continues to haunt Greta years after his death. This radical revision of Irish masculinity and national identity troubles Gabriel as he struggles to identify himself within this new context that is neither cosmopolitan nor traditionally national. At first unable to identify himself in the cheval glass with a "face whose expression always puzzled him when he saw it," following Greta's revelation about Michael Furey, Gabriel recognizes himself as "a ludicrous figure, acting as a pennyboy for his aunts, a nervous wellmeaning sentimentalist, orating to vulgarians and idealizing his own clownish lusts" (191). In this moment, Gabriel is able to recognize the absurdity of both extremes of Irish identity as he is drawn into Greta's new vision of an Irish subject at once tragic and admirable.

The story of Michael Furey is the final stage in Gabriel's path to political enlightenment. After Greta falls asleep, Gabriel lies awake thinking of his marriage and deconstructing the idealized Irish past and present in which he lives. Thinking of Michael Furey and of his elderly aunts, Gabriel reflects, "His soul had approached that region where dwell the vast hosts of the dead...His own identity was fading out into a grey impalpable world: the solid world itself which these dead had one time reared and lived in was dissolving and dwindling" (194). In this moment, the glory and sacrifice of old Ireland fades to make way for a new Irish nationalism, but one that embraces the banal tragedies of Irish life (like those of Greta and Michael Furey) rather than idealizing violent sacrifice like Cathleen ni Houlihan and the Revival.

Gabriel's acceptance of this revised Irish identity culminates in his decision that "[t]he time had come for him to set out on his journey westward" (194). Though Margot Norris suggests that going westward means to "die, perish, or disappear," Earl Ingersoll argues it may also signify a return to Irish national identity, suggesting Gabriel's new commitment to Ireland as his home and its soul as his purpose and passion. According to Ingersoll,

the 'westward' of 'The Dead' seems a gesture to the Irish *siar*, with a similar combination of place and movement toward it. Even more, Tymoczko is extremely helpful in suggesting that, just as 'east' signified 'in from of,' its binary opposite, *siar*, or 'westward,' also means 'behind,' 'backward,' or even 'toward the past,' temporally as well as spatially. (99)

In other words, Gabriel's commitment to go westward following Greta's revelation about Michael Furey demonstrates a commitment to embrace Ireland past and present instead of

looking towards the “east” (Britain and continental Europe) for one’s identity. As Ingersoll further explains, the journey eastward toward the ‘excitement’ of London and, especially, the Continent can end only in their greater discontent with their confinement in the Irish domesticity of the family business, or of the ‘family home’” (101).

Additionally, as Gabriel imagines journeying westward, he notices the snow falling outside his window and “general all over Ireland,” resting “upon the living and the dead” as it buries country from one angle and instead embraces the tragic Irish past as the means of Irish liberation (194).

In both “The Dead” and “A Little Cloud” Dublin becomes a space in which Irish identity is made intelligible in relation to the monuments and artifacts of both Irish nationalism and British colonialism. From Grattan’s Bridge and Corless’s Pub to the Wellington Monument and O’Connell’s Bridge, Joyce remaps Dublin through the local gazes of characters like Little Chandler and Gabriel Conroy to, as Anne Fogarty describes, reappropriate and reclaim a lost territory “which has been unjustly rendered invisible because of its colonial status” (“Remapping Nationalism” 80-81) According to Joyce’s own letters to publisher Grant Richards, this reclamation of Dublin serves a dual purpose: to present Dublin to the world and to itself. In his June 23, 1906 letter, Joyce chastises Richards’s hesitance to publish *Dubliners*, saying “I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilization in Ireland by preventing Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass” (*Letters of James Joyce* 64). Only a few months later, in an October 1906 letter Joyce also argues *Dubliners* is the first time “that any writer has yet presented Dublin to the world,” comparing the capital city to other capitals of Europe and placing Ireland within an

international context (*Selected Letters of James Joyce* 122). Together, these two purposes bring Dublin (and Dubliners) out of colonial invisibility by placing the city and its people in conversation with the rest of European culture and by encouraging Dubliners to reconceive of their own identities outside of the contexts of either colonial subjugation or idealized nationalist rhetoric—to, as Fogarty states, “[rescue] then from their alienated condition” (“Remapping Nationalism” 82).

In the process of making Dublin knowable to itself and to the greater European world, however, Joyce also engages in a kind of anti-colonialism. By rendering Dublin in explicitly local terms through the gaze of Dubliners, Joyce makes the city illegible to the colonizer. As Luke Gibbons notes, “the expertise required for reading [Joyce’s] work is derived not only from the academy and the literary world but also from familiarity with the streets of the Dublin and the by-ways of Irish culture” (23). Though the city is depicted in what Joyce himself called “a style of scrupulous meanness,” it is also obsessive in its particularity (*Selected Letters of James Joyce* 134). Joyce deliberately uses real people and businesses in the text, a fact which he believed caused his publication contract with Maunsell to fall through. As he writes in “Gas from a Burner” (a satirical poem he composed on the back of his Maunsell rejection letter in the imagined voice of the Maunsell printer),

Shite and onions! Do you think I’ll print  
The name of the Wellington Monument,  
Sydney Parade and the Sandymount tram,  
Downes’s cakeshop and Williams’s jam?  
I’m damned if I do—I’m damned to blazes!



Talk about *Irish Names of Places*!

It's a wonder to me, upon my soul,

"He forgot to mention Curly's Hole. (*Dubliners*, 202)

Though it is unlikely that the use of real names was the primary barrier to the publication of *Dubliners*, Joyce's complaints about the censorship of the names of Irish spaces indicates the importance he placed on representing the city in unflattering realism.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, the remark about Curly's Hole suggests that Joyce's depiction of Ireland would be recognizable to Dublin natives, both for its included details and for its notable omissions. As Gibbons notes, "For all its universality and cosmopolitanism—the appeals to myth, everyman, and the human condition—Joyce's writing was also addressed to those who knew him, and his culture, well" (21). By mapping Dublin through the local gaze using references that are only knowable within a local consciousness, Joyce reclaims the city as an Irish space and deprivileges the colonial gaze.

### ***Portrait of an Artist and Irish Space as Personal Identity***

*Dubliners* presents a hyperlocal perspective through which Joyce is able to reclaim Irish national space outside of colonial power. However, while the text is notable in the way it rebuilds the city through what Jack Morgan calls "radical localism" (5), the reclamation of Dublin through the specificity of local description remains an incomplete project. In other words, the Dublin that Joyce reconstructs in the text is imbued with the

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<sup>50</sup> Though Margot Norris notes that publishers complained about the "naming of actual Dublin businesses, whose owners might have grounds to sue for libel" (*Dubliners* 201), it is unlikely that the names were the publishers' main objection. As Clare Hutton illustrates, the publication struggle surrounding the collection was more likely the result of Edwardian printing laws which made printers liable for printing works judged indecent and in-fighting among Irish nationalist circles. For more information on the publication history of *Dubliners*, see Hutton's "Chapters of Moral History: Failing to Publish *Dubliners*."

*potential* for liberation and entry into modernity, but it has not yet succeeded in moving outside the bounds of colonial control. However, the potentiality made available through various tales in *Dubliners* is taken up by the individual Irish subject in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. *Dubliners* is a text concerned primarily with the identity and nature of Ireland as a nation, with Dublin as its representative capital city. In contrast, *Portrait* turns its attention to the individual Irish subject (particularly the Irish artist), and his attempts to locate himself within the nation and the world.

*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* depicts early twentieth-century Ireland through the gaze of Stephen Dedalus, Joyce's fictional alter ego and modernist artist-in-training. The novel is a *Künstlerroman*, which traces Stephen's reckoning with this upbringing as he constructs his own aesthetic approach to literature, a process which is continually connected to the trauma of colonial subjugation. As in *Dubliners*, the first half of *Portrait* proposes that Irish identity is explicitly tied to Ireland as a nation and a space; however, while *Dubliners* frames the Irish space in explicitly political and social terms (presented from multiple, varied perspectives), in *Portrait*, Irish space becomes the site of personal experience and trauma filtered through the singular perspective of Stephen. Nevertheless, the more limited, autobiographical perspective of *Portrait* does not disengage it from the colonial concerns. Rather, Stephen's self-identification remains entangled in his competing affiliations as Irishman, Catholic, artist, and colonial subject, identities which are projected onto the spaces of the novel. However, unlike the public spaces of colonial spectacle that are presented in *Dubliners* (i.e. Wellington Monument and Grattan Bridge), the significant spaces in *Portrait* are from Stephen's own life and are often tied to Stephen's shame and trauma over his family's poverty and his identity as

a middle-class Irish subject. Throughout the first half of the novel in particular, the text presents a narrative of a colonial subject interrogating and establishing his own identity in relation to the colonized national space.

Early in the novel, Stephen proposes space and location as one method by which personal identity can be expressed; while at Clongowes school, he experiments with this spatial form of self-construction by writing his name in a geography textbook:

*Stephen Dedalus*

*Class of Elements*

*Clongowes Wood College*

*Sallins*

*County Kildare*

*Ireland*

*Europe*

*The World*

*The Universe (13)*

The list itself is an assertion of a particular form of personal identity that moves through the various loyalties and affiliations that lay claim to Stephen's body and soul in the novel. Beginning with his name (as a symbol of familial identity), the list moves quickly through Stephen's academic (Class of Elements), religious (Clongowes), national, and global identities, each one more abstracted and grandiose than the last. Each location on the list presents a potential framework through which Stephen can choose to identify himself.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, as Jason Howard Mezey notes, Stephen leaves out the United Kingdom in his list even though the Act of Union of 1801 placed Ireland officially under British control. Mezey argues this notable

Additionally, the list is inscribed in a geography textbook, an object which is itself tied up in political issues of land ownership and imperialism. As Jason Howard Mezey describes, there were conflicting influences that likely held sway over curriculum at Clongowes in Joyce's time, including over the textbooks. Mezey explains the Jesuit educational principles in *Ratio Studiorum* as emphasizing the teaching of geography, but that influence may have been superseded by the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 which "was established to oversee the awarding of financial prizes to pupils and institutions based on a series of standardized tests" (341). The IEBI (Intermediate Education Board of Ireland) was predominantly governed by English and Irish Protestant practices (341) and likely relied on British notions of Irish landownership for the content of geography instruction.

The approach to teaching geography endorsed by National School Inspector Robert Robinson in his 1880 manual begins with "general views of the whole surface of the earth" rather than setting "out from the spot on which we stand, describing school and school-grounds" (Robinson 218). Robinson sees the value in this universal-to-particular form of instruction in part because it avoids "that which is limited to an acquaintance, not very minute, with the topography of any of its political divisions, however much recommended by the accident of a personal relation to it" (Robinson 219, quoting a colleague). In other words, the endorsed method of geography instruction that was likely in use at Clongowes during Joyce's time, deliberately avoided discussions about the political implications of space; as Mezey notes, Robinson's method "attempts to mask

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omission "produces a text that rends a gaping hole in the fabric of British colonial history" (337) and calls attention to the competing ways of representing Ireland as either a nation or a colony, as well as to the means of producing and reinforcing such representations in Stephen's early Jesuit education" (338).

relations between individuals and their nations, warning against beginning with the knowledge of one's self in relation to a wider scheme" (343-344). In this context, Stephen's list becomes overtly political. By inscribing his identity in a list moving outward from the self to the local, national, and (eventually) global context, Stephen rejects the model of self-identification proposed to him in the geography book which attempts to erase the politics of his Irish identity. Instead, he proposes an alternative model of self-construction in which the local and particular are the dominant influences.

The dominance of local affiliation on Stephen's identity early in the novel is not uncomplicated, however, particularly for the artist. In the paragraph following Stephen's list, he remarks on a joke poem a school friend also wrote in his geography book:

*Stephen Dedalus is my name,*

*Ireland is my nation.*

*Clongowes is my dwellingplace*

*And heaven my expectation.* (13)

The poem, though not his own, ties Stephen's possible identities to poetry, suggesting a connection between artistic expression and the spatial affiliations of the poem and the list. Like the list, the poem begins at the personal level before moving outward to the universal and divine. In the context of Irish literary culture, the choice to begin with the particularities of self and nation invokes movements like the Irish Literary Revival for whom Irish territory and national identity were of primary significance. However, unlike Revivalists, Stephen's artistic aspirations do not end in Ireland, but are rather characterized as moving outward *away* from Ireland. When Stephen reads the poem in reverse, for example, "then they were not poetry" (13). The implication is that Stephen's

artistic identity only thrives when it moves away from the local center of Ireland towards escape to the continent and the broader world. When read backwards, towards the local spaces of Ireland and the Catholic indoctrination of Clongowes, the spaces that vie for Stephen's attention and loyalty become sites of entrapment and trauma.

Clongowes Wood College is the earliest, and perhaps the most lasting of the traumatic and limiting spaces in the novel. As the site of Stephen's childhood development, Clongowes also serves as the root of the shame and humiliation that Stephen associates with his identity, particularly his Irish identity. As a space, Clongowes itself is tied up in issues of colonialism and Irish nationalism. Prior to its repurposing as a Jesuit boarding school in 1814, Clongowes Wood College (also known as Castle Browne), was a border fortress of the Pale in Early Modern Ireland ("Jesuit Fathers 150 Years in Possession of Clongowes Wood"). In English and Irish history, the Pale is the boundary designating English-conquered land in Ireland during the reign of Henry II until the Elizabeth I ("Pale"). It delineated areas under English control and was comprised of fortresses and "a ditch, raised some ten or twelve feet from the ground, with a hedge of thorn on the outer side. It was constructed not so much to keep out the Irish, as to form an obstacle in their way in their raids on the cattle of the [English] settlers, and thus give time for a rescue" (Ball & Hamilton 8). The building itself is then part of the Irish history of colonization and subjugation at the hands of British imperialism.

By the nineteenth century, however, Clongowes was equally aligned with Catholic emancipation and Irish nationalism. As the first Jesuit secondary school in Ireland following the end of the Irish Penal Laws, Clongowes became the most prestigious boy's school in the country ("Clongowes History"). It was also notable for the

support it garnered from Irish political leader Daniel O’Connell who was a regular visitor and sent his four sons to the college (“Clongowes History”), and for the apocryphal claim that Irish nationalist Archibald Hamilton Rowan stopped at the castle while escaping to France after being imprisoned for sedition (*Portrait* 8n7).<sup>52</sup> The college’s ties to Irish nationalism and Catholic emancipation together with the early connections to British conquest make Clongowes an apt location for Stephen’s early identity struggle as he discovers and interrogates the discomfort of his ties to Irish, Catholic, and colonial identities.

For Stephen, Clongowes College represents a formative space in his personal identity and his conception of Irishness that is repeated throughout the text. While Clongowes as an institution may project an image of Irish identity that is ordered and upper class (like the elite and structured curriculum of Jesuit education), for Stephen it is a space where Irish identity is consistently tied to shame through what Allan Hepburn calls, a “psychology of humiliation” (199). According to Hepburn, the “rhetoric of shame and humiliation runs throughout *A Portrait*” (205), beginning with Clongowes:

[Stephen] shows off at school and treats schoolrooms as platforms for performances. In this regard *A Portrait of the Artist*, as a novel about pedagogy, belongs to a narrative tradition that includes *Tom Brown’s School Days*, *Hard Times*, *Love and Mr. Lewisham*, and *Women in Love*, in which schoolrooms provide laboratories for experiments in the formation of personality. At school. Students try on and discard various personalities, practicing diligence and obedience or sloth and unruliness. (204)

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<sup>52</sup> Rowan is explicitly mentioned within *Portrait* when Stephen wonders “from which window Hamilton Rowan had thrown his hat on the haha and had there been flowerbeds at that time under the windows” (8).

Though Hepburn is explicitly describing Stephen's own process of self-construction at school, I argue the college as a "laboratory of personality" also leaves indelible marks on Stephen's identity through the practiced and repeated use of shame. The school becomes a "theatre of humiliation" where identity forms in response to shameful experiences (Hepburn 204). Two such episodes occur in *Portrait*: (1) Stephen is pushed into the square ditch and catches a fever and (2) he is unfairly beaten by the prefect of studies for breaking his glasses. Both episodes are filled with scatological and pseudo-sexual elements that affiliate Stephen's Irish identity with shame and femininity. As such, Clongowes, becomes a site of personal anxiety for Stephen as an Irish subject and, more particularly, an Irish artist.

The first episode of humiliation at Clongowes occurs when Stephen is pushed into the square ditch (a cesspool behind the dormitory) for refusing to trade his snuff box for a hacking chestnut (8-9). Stephen describes his experience, shivering at "how cold and slimy the water had been! A fellow had once seen a big rat jump plop into the scum" (8). The interplay of hot and cold, and dampness that occurs in Stephen's experience in the square ditch mirror other experiences of shame in the early pages of the novel, all of which are connected to homoeroticism and queerness. For example, on the first page of the novel Stephen thinks, "When you wet the bed first it is warm and then it gets cold. His mother put on the oilsheet. That had the queer smell" (5) and then later describes the "sucking" drain at the Wicklow Hotel" where "the white look of the lavatory made him feel cold and then hot. There were two cocks that you turned and water came out: cold and hot. He felt cold and then a little hot...That was a queer thing" (9). As Joseph S. O'Leary notes, in each of these cases the "association with queer, cold, and water is



recurrent,” and the “‘queer’ play between liquid cold and warmth” is both “repulsive, but with an undertow of attraction” (“Sexual Dawn at Clongowes” 79, 80). Together, these words combine scatological references to urine, cesspools, and bathrooms with homoeroticism, compounding the humiliation by coding Stephen’s experience at the square ditch as repulsive for both its relationship to waste and excrement and for its sexual undertones.

Compounding the potential homoeroticism, the episode in the square ditch is equally tied to the shame Stephen associates with his Irish identity. As Joseph Valente notes, the “sort of homoerotic roughhousing” Stephen experiences at the square ditch “exemplifies the sexualized aggression that Joyce attributed to English boarding school activities” (“Thrilled by His Touch” 172). Additionally, the episode takes place in a ditch that was likely part of the English Pale. This connects the homoerotic aggression of the episode to Irish colonial identity, as the square ditch is “a border zone where the masculinized Anglo-Saxon ‘conqueror’ and the feminized Irish conquered meet and, partly as an effect of the conquest itself, where their ethno-racial differences are both marked, even exaggerated, and overridden, even erased” (Valente 173). In essence, Stephen’s humiliation at the square ditch replicates the colonial subjugation of the Irish by English conquerors by casting the Irish victim as homosexual, feminized, and weak.

The implications for Irish identity are increased by Stephen’s subsequent sickness when he fantasizes about his own funeral while lying in the Clongowes infirmary. He imagines, “How beautiful the words were where they said *Bury me in the old churchyard!* A tremor passed over his body. How sad and how beautiful! He wanted to cry quietly but not for himself: for the words, so beautiful and sad, like music” (21).

Following his fantasy, however, Stephen's sentimental and melodramatic imaginings of his own funeral are replaced with the actual sorrow of Brother Michael announcing the death of Parnell. In contrast to the sensitivity and femininity of Stephen during his illness, Charles Stewart Parnell projects an "air of manliness that had special currency under the regime of domestic colonialism" (Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture* 27). Valente argues that Parnell's gender performance served not only as a source of power in his own political career, but also as a model for Irish national independence:

Parnell was a national icon to be adored precisely inasmuch as he was perceived as a man, or *the man*, in an honorific sense. He embodied an analogy between personal self-government, the defining virtue of achieved manliness, and collective self-government, the aim of Irish nationalism, an analogy that functioned to enthrone Parnell as the exemplary figure, in every sense, of the movement he headed. (*The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture* 34).

By following Stephen's funereal fantasy with Parnell's own death, *Portrait* invites comparison between the young, small, and humiliated Stephen and Parnell, the dominant figure of Irish masculinity. In contrast to nineteenth-century Irish nationalist heroes like Parnell whose gender identity "defies colonial emasculation in the name of the Irish people" (27), the modern Irish artist (Stephen) falls victim to colonial power and is emasculated by his contact with it.

The second episode in the theatre of shame played out at Clongowes occurs later in Stephen's educational career, when he is beaten with the pandybat by the prefect of studies for breaking his own glasses (42-44). Stephen associates the prefect's unfair

treatment with five upperclassmen who are caught “smuggling” in the Clongowes square, stating, “Paddy Rath and Jimmy Magee and the Spaniard and the Portuguese and the fifth was big Corrigan who was going to be flogged by Mr Gleeson. That was why the prefect of studies had called him a schemer and pandied him for nothing” (47). Though “smuggling” is never clearly defined in the text itself, many critics have noted it likely denotes a form of homosexual play between the older boys (*Portrait* 37n4). The association Stephen constructs between his unfair treatment by the prefect and the earlier smuggling incident draws a homosexual parallel between the initial episode at the square ditch and Stephen’s later humiliation in class, both serving as part of Stephen’s education in shame at Clongowes.

The imagery Stephen associates with his punishment by the prefect equally parallels the “homosexual valences and associations of Stephen’s past experiences with dark or eddying water” like that of the square ditch (Valente, “Thrilled by His Touch” 179). When reflecting on the reason for his unjust punishment, Stephen is particularly drawn to the memory of “big Corrigan” in the bath: “He had skin the same colour as the turfcoloured bogwater in the shallow end of the bath and when he walked along the side his feet slapped loudly on the wet tiles and at every step his thighs shook a little because he was fat” (*Portrait* 47). The bathwater and Corrigan’s dark complexion recall the cold and slimy water of the square ditch both in its scatological associations and in its intermingling of desire and dread. As Valente notes, “Stephen wants to assert a distinction between guilty, robust Corrigan and poor little innocent Dedalus. But in doing so, he discloses a familiarity with Corrigan’s physique...and the desire such familiarity would suggest seems further corroborated by the way Corrigan’s bodily image simply

takes over Stephen juridical meditation” (“Thrilled by His Touch” 176). The shame of homosexual panic that Valente identifies is further exacerbated by the comparison the text invites between Corrigan’s large, mature body and Stephen’s own “small and young” one, a comparison that mirrors the previous one between Stephen and Parnell. In both episodes, Stephen positions himself as the hapless victim of more mature and powerful forces (i.e. of masculine colonial power symbolized in the square ditch and of the Jesuit prefect of studies).

Both Clongowes episodes render Stephen’s body and identity as feminized and subjugated, mirroring common portrayals of Celtic unmanliness used to justify British colonialism (Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture* 15-16).

Additionally, the imagery and memories of the school repeat throughout the text of *Portrait*, suggesting that the shame Stephen acquires in his early education remains an integral part of his identity as he moves into adulthood. The school is mentioned by name twenty times in the novel, sixteen after Stephen leaves because of his family’s increasing poverty. Moreover, the imagery of “turfcoloured”, “foul” or “slimy” water recurs throughout the text, including direct references to the Clongowes baths and the square ditch (95, 140-141, 151). Stephen’s repeated reflection on his experience at Clongowes emphasizes the indelible mark the school leaves on his psyche the inescapable personal shame he associates with it as a space. For Stephen, Clongowes is not so much a cultural landmark (neither a reminder of the Pale nor a site of nationalist or Catholic liberation), but is rather a place of personal significance, where the clash of national and colonial identities takes place within the body of the individual Irish subject.

The shame Stephen comes to associate with his own identity at Clongowes is compounded by his family's subsequent poverty and repeat evictions. The Dedalus family's housing instability impacts Stephen's worldview and self-conception, much like the episodes at the square ditch and Clongowes bath. He notes, "For some time he had felt the slight changes in his house; and these changes in what he had deemed unchangeable were so many slight shocks to his boyish conception of the world" (56). In some sense, the shift in station illuminates the precarity of the Dedalus family even before Simon's financial struggles. As Allan Hepburn notes, while at school, Stephen is proud of his father's position as a marshal, but such pride, "does not take into account that such authority is contingent on patronage. [Simon] is a marshal because of political allegiance to Charles Stewart Parnell." (199). Simon Dedalus supports his family through an "ethos of dependence," particularly dependence on the values and support of the Irish nationalist movement (Hepburn 199). However, the shifting politics of the movement further increase the Dedalus's instability. Though readers are not given the exact causes of Simon's financial ruin, the family's displacement coincides at least in part with the instability caused by Parnell's political downfall and death. In short, the nationalist movement that could have provided a stable national space by which Irish subjects like Stephen could define themselves becomes the source of further dislocation.

As the Dedalus family is moved from property to property with Simon Dedalus's increasing financial failure, the model of spatial identity that is established in Part I while Stephen is at Clongowes is troubled by a relentless feeling of displacement that is at the heart of the colonial condition. As Stephen proposes in his geography book list, space is one way the body is made legible, but as the Dedalus family is forced out of the stability

at Blackrock and into the unstable spaces of Dublin, they are stripped of agency and social identity along with their personal property. Like the medieval Irish who lose their land to English conquerors, the Dedalus family transitions from landowners to tenants, increasingly inhabiting spaces that are not their own.

Building on his experiences at Clongowes, Stephen associates his family's constant movement with shame. The first move from Blackrock "made his heart heavy" (57) and left his sensitive nature "smarting under the lashes of an undivined and squalid way of life" (69). Subsequent evictions are also noticed by Stephen's peers, like Fallon who "had often asked him with a silly laugh why they moved so often. A frown of scorn darkened quickly his forehead as he heard again the silly laugh of the questioner" (143). In an inverse of the social standing his father's position as marshal gained him at school, the frequent evictions that plague the later years of Stephen's childhood leave him socially insecure and set him apart from other Irish children. As he thinks to himself after the first move, "[t]he noise of children at play annoyed him and their silly voices made him feel even more keenly than he had felt at Clongowes, that he was different from others" (56). While at Clongowes Stephen frames his difference as an advantage ("His father was a marshal now: higher than a magistrate" [17]), but after his family's evictions, his difference comes from confrontation with the "real world" in the "dull phenomenon of Dublin" (69).

The shame Stephen comes to associate with his family's poverty and his own identity as the son of a fallen gentleman is particularly evident when he travels to Cork with his father to auction off the family's property and land. During the trip, Simon Dedalus reminisces about his days at Queen's College, despite the eminent loss of his

inheritance and fortune. The reminiscences shame Stephen both because of his father's actions and because of his own perceived difference from the rest of the world.<sup>53</sup> For example, tormented by guilt over his "recent monstrous reveries," Stephen is shocked "to find in the outer world a trace of what he had deemed till then a brutish and individual malady of his own mind" (79). Later, he thinks of his own "bodily weakness and futile enthusiasms" that separate him from the stronger boys of his father's past (79).

Importantly, the shame Stephen experiences related to his father's and his own experience at Queen's College leads him to reflect yet again on his time at Clongowes. In an attempt to recover himself from feelings of disassociation, Stephen once more describes his identity in spatial terms, much like the earlier list in his geography book: "I am Stephen Dedalus. I am walking beside my father whose name is Simon Dedalus. We are in Cork, in Ireland. Cork is a city. Our room is in the Victoria Hotel. Victoria and Stephen and Simon. Simon and Stephen and Victoria. Names" (81). Like the Clongowes list, the places and people in Stephen's recitation recall the competing influences on Stephen's identity: the familial (Simon), the national (Ireland), and the colonial (Victoria). The list then prompts Stephen to think more specifically of his childhood, but "the memory of [it] suddenly grew dim. He tried to call forth some of its vivid moments but could not. He recalled only names: Dante, Parnell, Clane,<sup>54</sup> Clongowes" (81). In this moment, Stephen reduces his childhood primarily to his time at Clongowes. Further, in the passage that follows he specifically draws attention to watching the firelight in the infirmary and dreaming of being dead, referring more specifically to his experience in the

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<sup>53</sup> Stephen is embarrassed when his father is "duped" by the porter's "servile manners" (78) and later by the "shameful sign of his father's drinkingbout" (82).

<sup>54</sup> A town in County Kildare near Clongowes Wood College

square ditch and reiterating the importance of the episode in his sense of personal identity (81). Stephen's memories of Clongowes contrast Simon Dedalus's own favorable memories of Queen's College while also connecting the shame Stephen associates with the school to the shame he experiences through his family's poverty and housing instability (symbolized in the auction at Cork).

As the above examples suggest, shame drives the process of Stephen's personal identity formation in the first half of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and that shame is explicitly tied to the spaces Stephen inhabits as a child—first Clongowes Wood College and later the increasingly dilapidated family dwellings in Dublin. Stephen's frequent memories and meditations on these spaces illustrate the formative role they play both in his self-conception and in his sense of his social status as an Irish citizen. As a small bullied child at Clongowes and an indigent young adult in Dublin, Stephen views his identity as an Irish Catholic and son of a nationalist as an easy target for mockery, including self-mockery, as Joseph O'Leary notes ("Self-Determination in James Joyce" 250). However, as both O'Leary and Allan Hepburn suggest, the shame that accompanies Stephen's experiences in Clongowes and Dublin are equally influential in shaping his identity as an artist as he "can make the language of mockery subserve heroic decision, showing resilience missing in the harried characters of *Dubliners*" (O'Leary 250). Even poverty and insolvency are mobilized as part of Stephen's artistic development as, "creativity literally becomes the flip-side of economics: Stephen pens poems on the backs of moiety notices or bills. As the Dedalus family loses its prestige and money, Stephen, by a dialectical process, discovers his vocation as an artist" (Hepburn 197). In essence, it is through personal shame and troubled experiences of Irish space that Stephen is able to



fulfill his calling as an artist and begin the process of reforming his Irish identity around creation rather than degradation.

### **Dublin as Mythic Space: Constructing a Cosmopolitan Ireland**

Following the trauma Stephen comes to associate with Ireland as a site of brutality shame, by Chapter IV of *Portrait*, Stephen is driven to redefine his Irish identity as untethered to Irish space. Instead, Stephen narratively reclaims Ireland as an international space and Irish identity as inherently cosmopolitan by placing Stephen's twentieth-century experience in Dublin in conversation with both ancient Celtic and Greco-Roman traditions. Through the layering of complex classical allusions, the previously colonized and traumatic space of Dublin is transformed into a mythic space and made equal inheritor of a Western culture unhindered by colonial power and tied instead to an ancient influence that predates the British empire.

Joyce's rhetorical move to reclaim Ireland's international status existed prior to the publication of *Portrait*, hearkening back to his 1907 lecture in Trieste, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages." In the lecture, he positions Ireland as a powerful force in the development of Western culture and describes the complex international character of Irish identity. Joyce celebrates Ireland as "an immense seminary, where scholars gathered from the different countries of Europe, so great was its renown for mastery of spiritual matters." Additionally, he characterizes modern Irish identity as stemming from a broad array of international influences. Rather than venerating a myth of Irish identity rooted in a pure Celtic lineage, Joyce instead describes "a new Celtic race...arising, compounded of the old Celtic stock and the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman races" and remarks that "to exclude from the present nation all who are descended from foreign

families would be impossible, and to deny the name of patriot to all those who are not of Irish stock would be to deny it to almost all the heroes of the modern movement” including Parnell himself. This characterization frames Ireland as a nation formed under the broader influence of Western culture and dispels the “myth of the insular Celt” (Gibbons 26). Likewise, it runs counter to the trends in the Irish Literary Revival and the Gaelic League which invested energy and resources in resurrecting and constructing an Irish cultural history in the context of Celtic tradition. By insisting instead on an international Irish ancestry, Joyce makes space for a new form of Irish identity independent of Irish national space.

The argument of Irish internationalism proposed in “Island of Saints and Sages” is carried into *Portrait* through the artistic and related expatriate aspirations of Stephen Dedalus in the second half of the novel. As several critics have noted, the early sections of *Portrait* end with lesser revelations and epiphanies in which Stephen attempts to locate himself in the world and in Ireland.<sup>55</sup> At the end of Chapter I, it is within the upper-class spaces of Clongowes; in Chapter II, in the lower-class spaces of Dublin’s brothels; and in Chapter III in the religious spaces of the Irish Catholic Church. However, all of these potential sites of identification are undermined in subsequent pages by further experiences of shame, guilt and failure that lead Stephen to reject them as sites of personal identity. Therefore, following his rejection of the Church in Chapter IV as the most recent and seductive of the potential affiliations in the novel,<sup>56</sup> Stephen must seek

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<sup>55</sup> See Grant H. Redford’s “The Role of Structure in Joyce’s *Portrait*”, Erwin R. Steinberg’s “The Bird-Girl in *A Portrait* as Synthesis: The Sacred Assimilated to the Profane”, and Tobias Boes’s “*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and the ‘Individuating Rhythm’ of Modernity.”

<sup>56</sup> When he is presented with the opportunity to join the priesthood in the director’s office, Stephen “listened in reverent silence now to the priest’s appeal and through the words he heard even more distinctly a voice bidding him to approach, offering him secret knowledge and secret power” (139).

out an alternative form of identity, akin to the international Irish identity described in “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages.”

Following his rejection of religious vocation and acceptance instead that “[h]is destiny was to be elusive of social or religious orders” (141), Stephen comes to the final and most famous epiphany of the novel—his encounter with the bird-girl in Dublin Bay. As Erwin R. Steinberg notes, “it is generally agreed that the bird-girl scene near the end of Chapter IV...is a climactic moment in that novel, confirming Stephen Dedalus in his choice of a career” and mirroring revelatory function of previous chapter conclusions (149). It also contributes to the reframing of Irish space through the use of Greco-Roman mythology. Like much of Joyce’s literature (*Ulysses* in particular), the bird-girl episode deals heavily in the classical allusion, placing modern Irish characters and situations within a Greco-Roman context. In *Portrait*, the dominant myth employed is the Greek myth of the labyrinth and Daedalus’s escape from the island of Crete. As Radford notes, “The flight of Daedalus is for Stephen a conscious image for the escape of his artistic soul from the labyrinth of family, church, and nation into the broader and freer European tradition” (268). The bird-girl episode in Chapter IV builds on the existing Daedelian allusions throughout the text with explicit references to water, birds, and flight and serves to recontextualize Stephen’s Irish identity within the classical tradition and outside of the “nets” of nationality, language, and religion (Grant 422).

The bird-girl episode begins with Stephen’s labyrinthine wandering through Dublin as he waits for his father to secure him a place at University College (144). The choice to attend university instead of entering the priesthood releases Stephen from the constraining influence of his family and the Church; Stephen becomes the maker of his

own destiny, mirroring the characteristics of invention and creation associated with Daedalus. As Stephen remarks, “he had passed beyond the challenge of the sentries who had stood as guardians of his boyhood and had sought to keep him among them” (144). However, his directionless wandering still indicates an indecision or lack of clarity about his eventual vocation: “The end he had been born to serve yet did not see had led him to escape by an unseen path: and now it beckoned to him once more and a new adventure was about to be opened to him” (144). This suggests Stephen’s continual disorientation within the labyrinth of his own experience and forecasts the epiphany Stephen will soon have in Dublin Bay.

Stephen’s aimless wandering is consistent with the theme of movement as method of self-discovery throughout the novel, as Joseph O’Leary notes, “All scenes of decision in this novel are associated with walking. Within the labyrinth, which is the governing image of the novel, the hero seeks the path that will lead him to confront the Minotaur...and find the way to freedom” (250). As Stephen wanders through Dublin, he describes “the image of the seventh city of Christendom...no older nor more weary nor less patient of subjection than in the days of the thingmote” (146), referring to the Scandinavian conquest of Ireland in the ninth century. This moment draws a parallel between Ireland’s twentieth-century colonial condition under British rule and its past subjugation by other foreign conquerors and illustrates a long history of confinement under colonial rule. However, Stephen’s reflections on the Dublin are immediately followed by a reference to Daedalus:

Now, at the name of the fabulous artificer, he seemed to hear the noise of dim waves and to see a winged form flying above the waves and slowly climbing the

air....a hawlike man flying sunward above the sea, a prophecy of the end he had been born to serve and had been following through the mists of childhood and boyhood, a symbol of the artist forging anew in his workshop out of the sluggish matter of the earth a new soaring impalpable imperishable being?...Yes! Yes! Yes! He would create proudly out of the freedom and power of his soul, as the great artificer whose name he bore, a living thing, new and soaring and beautiful, impalpable, imperishable. (148-9)

Upon recognizing his artistic vocation, Stephen imagines himself as Daedalus, “a wild spirit passed over his limbs, as though he were soaring sunward” (148), signaling his freedom from the labyrinth of Irish history and colonial power through his acceptance his artistic vocation (O’Leary 256).

Following the image of Daedalus, Stephen’s attention is drawn to a girl standing midstream “alone and still, gazing out to sea” (150). Stephen describes the figure “like one whom magic had changed into the likeness of a strange and beautiful seabird” with references to legs like a crane, drawers like “soft white down” and skirts like a “dovetail” (150). With her bird-like features, the girl in the bay reinforces the Daedalian allusion at the end of Chapter IV and becomes the catalyst for Stephen’s transformation and eventual flight from Ireland. As many critics have noted, the bird-girl represents a synthesis of all Stephen’s previous experiences in the novel and the transformation of his life and purpose;<sup>57</sup> as R. B. Kershner, Jr. states, “Stephen's life takes a definite turning: from sacred to secular, from passive to active; from confinement to escape, from

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<sup>57</sup> For examples, see Steinberg’s “The Bird-Girl in ‘A Portrait’ as Synthesis: The Sacred Assimilated to the Profane” and Steven R. Centola’s “‘The White Peace of the Altar’: White Imagery in James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.”

meditation to experience. All of these choices are implications of his refusing the religious vocation and undertaking the poetic” (612). Her appearance serves as the logical image of revelation and decision in the novel as Stephen reflects on the influences that have shaped his identity thus far.

As the image of synthesis, the bird-girl becomes an amalgamation of various symbols and motifs throughout the novel that strips them of their negative and shameful connotations. As Centola notes, “The bird-girl is neither virgin nor whore; she is a fusion of all the female figures in the novel. Eileen Vance, E. C., Mercedes, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the prostitute...except for one major difference: whatever negative associations these figures have had before is now displaced by a new meaning: one involving only ‘the wonder of mortal beauty’” (171). Through his encounter with the bird-girl, Stephen is able to erase the shame he previously associates with Irish identity and instead enter into a “new world, fantastic, dim, uncertain as under sea” (151). Water, an image previously associated with the pseudo-sexual humiliation and shame of Clongowes is reframed as life-giving; according to Grant, “[w]ater in this instance can be associated with the idea of rebirth for it is after Stephen sees the wading bird that he assesses the place of sex in his life” (421). The bird-girl, whose sexuality is expressed “without shame or wantonness”, replaces the shame associated with both the homosexuality of Clongowes and the licentious sexuality of the brothels. Additionally, the humiliation Stephen associates with his family’s frequent evictions and relocation is replaced with a “lust of wandering in his feet that burned to set out for the ends of the earth” as the desire to expatriate erases the shame of displacement (149). In essence, by reconstructing Dublin Bay as a mythic space in the context of the Daedalian myth,

Stephen successfully reforms his Irish identity as generative rather than debased. The Daedalian elements present in the bird-epiphany serve to connect Stephen's artistic development and vocation to a larger context outside of Irish culture and history. By linking Stephen's experience as an Irish artist to the Greco-Roman mythos, Joyce makes space for Ireland among the classical tradition

However, while the bird-girl epiphany and its classical allusions do present an alternative form of identification for Stephen outside of Irish nationalism or religion, the classical subtext in the episode does not fully sever Stephen from his Irish identity. Rather, as Radford notes, "we see beneath the surface of classical allusion a complex of ancient Irish themes and motifs" that place the classical tradition in conversation with traditional Irish myth (254). According to Radford, Joyce had extensive schooling in Irish studies before his expatriation in 1912, a fact Richard Ellman fails to acknowledge in his biographies (254). Additionally, the nationalist newspaper *The United Irishman* often published Irish mythology and heroic cycles between 1901 and 1903, leading to a considerable public understanding of the Irish cultural tradition (Radford 255). These factors suggest that Joyce would have had substantial knowledge of Irish mythology and likely included Irish allusions in his text even within the context of the larger Daedalian references in *Portrait*. As Radford points out, these allusions are often interwoven within the Daedalian symbolism, "avoiding direct use of Irish heroic allusions that would mark his work as that of either a disciple of the Gaelic League or an acolyte of Yeats" (256).<sup>58</sup>

The bird-girl is no exception to this complex interweaving of mythological traditions, as her presence connects the Daedalian theme of flight to a complex history

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<sup>58</sup> For further analysis of Celtic allusions in the bird-girl episode, see also Anthony Roche's "'The Strange Light of Some New World': Stephen's Vision in 'A Portrait'."

Irish heroic myth. According to Radford, in Irish myth, the hero inhabits and is transformed within a transitional zone between the Celtic Otherworld and the mortal world;<sup>59</sup> for Stephen, the Liffey serves as this transitional space, where “Stephen’s poetic soul has its rebirth confirmed in the creative union between his imagination and his perception of the girl as seabird” (Radford 265). The bird-girl herself takes becomes a mixed allusion to both the wings Daedalus creates to escape Crete and to the cranes from Irish mythology, who “were said to make letters in the sky, carrying the code of the first Irish alphabet” (Radford 265). Additionally, Radford suggest Stephen’s soaring soul is equally a Daedalian escape and an allusion to “many Irish tales of lovers who unite as birds such as Midhir and Étaín” (264). By layering the allusions to Irish myths over Daedalian references, the bird-girl episode becomes a comingling of ancient Irish and Greco-Roman traditions that does not erase Joyce’s Irish identity but rather legitimizes it as part of Western culture.

By merging the classical and the Celtic, Joyce reconstructs an Irish identity that is both rooted in ageless mythos and liberated from the constraining and traumatic Irish space of Dublin. Through the bird-girl episode more specifically, he proposes a modern Irish identity, particularly a modern Irish *artist* identity, in explicitly cosmopolitan terms. Rather than view Stephen’s struggle throughout *Portrait* as merely a Daedalian fight to

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<sup>59</sup> According to Anthony Roche,

In the dozens of mythic narratives and oral folktales in which it is featured, the Celtic Otherworld is most often described as Tír na nÓg or the Land of Youth and differs from the Christian afterlife in a variety of ways. The most important distinction is that its immortal setting offers neither hope of reward nor fear of punishment for past behavior. It has much more in common with the Greek Elysium—a link Joyce would have appreciated—in offering the prospect of a heightened earthly existence where aging and laboring are unknown. (324).

In the context of *Portrait*, the Otherworld reinforces the comingling of Greco-Roman and Irish mythos, and Stephen’s transformation from directionless Irish youth into transnational artist serves to heighten his existence.



escape the labyrinth of family, church, and nation, the heroic allusions Radford proposes that Stephen's wandering is part of a tradition of wandering heroes in the Irish heroic cycles who enter into transitional zones to perfect their vocation (Radford 260). This characterizes Stephen's wandering and escape as not merely as exilic, but rather as deeply connected to an expatriate tradition in Irish culture. As Joyce notes in "Island of Saints and Sages," "No one who has any self-respect stays in Ireland, but flees afar as though from a country that has undergone the visitation of an angered Jove." While in his lecture Joyce laments that Ireland's "sons cannot give their efforts to their own native land," his list of famous authors and public figures who fled Ireland constructs an image of Irish identity where the best of the nation live beyond its borders.<sup>60</sup> The choice to leave Ireland is not, then, an abandonment of national sentiment, but is rather a profoundly anti-colonial act, an escape from a country whose soul is "weakened by centuries of useless struggle and broken treaties" (Joyce, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages").

Understanding the bird-girl episode as a reconstruction of Irish space through both a Greco-Roman and Irish mythos provides a framework for reading the seemingly contradictory nature of Stephen's expatriation at the end of *Portrait*. As Stephen famously claims at the end of the novel, "Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race...Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead" (224). It may seem strange that at the moment of expatriation, Stephen is drawn back in service to Irish identity, to forge like Daedalus "the uncreated conscience" of the Irish, rather than that of himself. However, as Pillar Villar-Argáiz states, this

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<sup>60</sup> The list includes Jonathan Swift, Edmund Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and William Congreve, among others.

commitment “indicates Stephen’s need to maintain the notion of community in his artistic enterprise... In contrast to what the predominant views of modernism claim, the self is not totally opposed to the notion of the community” (534). Stephen’s flight from Dublin to the continent is not merely an escape but is rather a form of what Jessica Berman calls *rooted migrancy*—“to be rooted yet streaming in all directions...to be cosmopolitan in its most profound sense” (151). By reimagining an Irish identity as something that is connected to Ireland culturally but that simultaneously exists outside of national borders, Joyce proposes a national identity that transcends spatial boundaries and escapes the constraining influences of societal structures.

### **Rebuilding the Labyrinth: Unknowable, Fragmented Space in “Wandering Rocks”**

By the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce proposes a new form of Irish identity that centers around internationalism and cosmopolitanism through Stephen’s impending expatriation. Traditionally, the end of *Portrait* is read parallel to Joyce’s own departure from Dublin, a reading that is reinforced by the dates at the end of the novel: “Dublin, 1904. Trieste, 1914” (224). While the dates literally mark the beginning and ending of Joyce’s drafting process (from the start of *Stephen Hero* in 1904 to *Portrait*’s serialization in *The Egoist* in 1914), the lines also connect Stephen’s final diary entries at the end of the novel to Joyce’s own flight from Ireland. However, unlike Stephen whose departure from Dublin is framed as positive, even predestined (via the Bird-Girl episode), Joyce’s own emigration was far more traumatic. Though, like Stephen, Joyce chose to leave Ireland of his own volition in 1904 (and permanently in

1912), his departure is almost universally termed an exile by critics.<sup>61</sup> In Joyce's view, the decision to leave Dublin was unavoidable; while he was not the victim of explicit political persecution or economic hardship, Joyce saw Ireland as a prohibitive space, incapable of supporting his artistic vocation. As detailed above Joyce failed repeatedly to secure an Irish publisher for his work, in part because of his refusal to adhere to the values and style of the Irish Literary Revival. As Gillespie describes, "With the kinds of contradictions common to many new intellectual movements, the Irish Literary Revival had the dichotomous effects of energizing interest in Irish art while at the same time presenting a narrow prescriptive sense of what that concept entailed" (18). Unable to publish or gain literary success without adopting the Revival's perspective on Irish culture, Joyce saw emigration as the only way to continue his work (Gillespie 19). Therefore, while Joyce's departure from Ireland can be viewed as a choice (mirroring Stephen's at the end of *Portrait*), the political tensions of the Irish literary scene at the time of Joyce's departure changed the author's perception of his relationship with Ireland and, as a result, his Irish identity.

Though at a distance from the national space, Joyce's identity remained deeply connected to Dublin particularly after his exile. However, understanding his Irish identity from afar paradoxically required a continual representation of Ireland as the homeland and site of identity, while the increasing spatial and temporal distance prevented the space from being fully comprehensible. As a result, Dublin remains the only setting in Joyce's fiction, but representations of the city emphasize his (and his alter ego Stephen Dedalus's) otherness and discontinuity. Nowhere, perhaps, are these feelings of confused

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<sup>61</sup> For an account of the critical conversation surrounding Joyce's exilic identity, see pp. 25-27 in Michael Patrick Gillespie's *James Joyce and the Exilic Imagination*.

return and discontinuity clearer than in *Ulysses*, the first of Joyce's prose works to be written completely in exile. Unlike Joyce's previous prose works, *Dubliners* and *Portrait*, which illustrate development and the passage of time, *Ulysses* is in many ways fixed, a frozen image of Joyce's pre-exile, pre-independence Ireland. In this sense, the setting of the novel itself is grappling with Joyce's post-colonial exilic condition through a continual return to the moment of exile; in Joyce's case to 1904, the year of his first departure from Dublin. However, as Joyce did not begin writing *Ulysses* until 12 years after his first departure from Dublin, the novel must also reckon with his waning relationship with the city, as Joyce attempts to reconstruct Dublin from memory across the vast spatial, temporal, and mental distance of exile. The result is a text that continually resorts to abstraction and experimentation to depict a national space that was once so intimately portrayed in *Dubliners*.

As a novel, *Ulysses* utilizes an encyclopedic narrative style, depicting a single day in Dublin 1904 in exhaustive detail.<sup>62</sup> As Jon Hegglund notes, "Readers continue to accord *Ulysses* an epistemological authority akin to that of the map: the novel claims to present a totalizing archive of factual knowledge about Dublin on June 16, 1904" (64). Certainly, the novel is comprehensive, lending credence to Joyce's claim that the novel would "give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city one day suddenly disappeared from the earth it could be reconstructed out of my book" (Budgen 69). However, despite its claim to realism, the book remains burdened by its exilic perspective. As Salman Rushdie notes, the exile's backward glance is deceptively inaccurate: "our physical

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<sup>62</sup> For detailed analyses of the encyclopedic style of *Ulysses*, see Georgina Nugent-Folan's "Lexis as Census: James Joyce and Gertrude Stein's Approaches to the Peopling of *Ulysses* and *The Making of Americans*", Hilary A. Clark's "Encyclopedic Discourse", and Paul K. Saint-Amour's *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form*.

alienation from [the lost homeland] almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost, that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands” (10). Even further, Joyce’s attempts to reconstruct Dublin brick-by-brick in *Ulysses* through careful study and use of Ordnance surveys, maps, and directories do not result in a cohesive, realist representation of the city, but instead they produce an increasingly fragmented and unrecognizable “Dublin of the mind” (to borrow Rushdie’s phrasing) that brings into question the very possibility of realist representation for the exiled artist.

This can perhaps best be observed in the tenth chapter of *Ulysses*, “Wandering Rocks.” In a novel full of stylistic inconsistencies and experimentation, “Wandering Rocks” still stands out from the whole for both its functional and its stylistic anomalies. The chapter serves as a sort of miniature or microcosm of the novel as a whole; nearly all of the characters in the novel occur in the episode. The chapter is divided into 19 sections, each from the perspective of a different character in *Ulysses*, ranging from the protagonists Stephen and Bloom to more tertiary characters like Blazes Boylan’s secretary (188) and an unnamed one-legged sailor (185). The variety of perspectives in the episode and the open-air nature of its setting distinguishes “Wandering Rocks” from the rest of *Ulysses* as uniquely public and multivocal. This is reinforced in the Gilbert schema that shows the episode’s symbol as “Citizens” and its scene as “The Streets,” both images that suggest a focus on public Irish identity and the city of Dublin itself. Additionally, as Michael Groden’s *Ulysses Map* illustrates, the episode is also more spread out across Dublin than others, suggesting an attempt to encompass the whole of the city in a single moment, in contrast to the more singularly located nature of the other

chapters.<sup>63</sup> This may also suggest a unique attempt at realist representation, further reinforced by Budgen's assertion that Joyce wrote *Wandering Rocks* while consulting a map of Dublin "on which he traced the red ink paths of the Earl of Dudley and Father Conmee. He calculated to the minute the time necessary for his characters to cover a given distance of the city" (124-5). Together, these characteristics present "Wandering Rocks" as an episode intensely invested in a representation of the city itself in its minutest detail, offering a view of Dublin as a microcosm of Irish life.

However, despite the nods towards realist representation of Dublin in the episode's planning and construction, in many ways "Wandering Rocks" remains burdened by its detail and almost encyclopedic accuracy. The narration is hyper-realistic giving a step-by-step view of the city streets not dissimilar to the travel guide style in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. However, rather than providing a cohesive view of Dublin, "Wandering Rocks" remains fragmented thanks to the overlapping of various perspectives and temporalities. In order to represent all of the novel's characters in a single space and time, the episode relies on the use of contemporaneity; multiple overlapping and intersecting spatial realities are layered on top of one another, offering different values and perceptions of the same event. The result is an episode that is rife with repetition, fragmentation, and disembodiment.<sup>64</sup> As such, "Wandering Rocks" serves as a paradigmatic example of the representational problem of depicting the homeland from a position of exile.

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<sup>63</sup> More specifically, a *particular* moment. "Wandering Rocks" offers the only specific reference to the date of *Ulysses* when Blazes Boylan's secretary Miss Dunne types "16 June 1904" (Bloomsday) on her typewriter (188).

<sup>64</sup> Particularly in the case of Molly Bloom who is only represented in the episode as "a generous white arm" (185).

Structurally, “Wandering Rocks” is a culmination of the spatial identities and representations at work in Joyce’s previous fiction—*Dubliners* and *Portrait*—as it mirrors many of the structural elements of both texts but across the distance of exile. The similarities between the three texts illustrate a continuity in the spatial identity concerns across Joyce’s oeuvre. However, while in *Dubliners* and *Portrait* these structural elements are used to reclaim or clarify the Irish subject’s relationship to national space, in “Wandering Rocks” the same structural elements further obscure the national space from the exile’s gaze and bring into question the very possibility of representing the homeland across the vast spatial, temporal, and political distance. For example, like *Dubliners*, “Wandering Rocks” is comprised of a series of distinct episodes, each focusing on a different character and perspective. However, unlike in *Dubliners* where the diverse perspectives serve to reclaim Irish space through the local gaze, in “Wandering Rocks” the diverse perspectives further fragment and trouble the reader’s view of the city; as Clive Hart remarks in his famous essay on the chapter,

[t]he narrative manner in each of the sections is apparently simple, lucid, self-contained, unencumbered by allusion or linguistic complexity. The simplicity is, however, an illusion, a trap for the naive reader. This is, indeed, a chapter full of traps for everyone, readers and characters alike. Things are not what they seem and most of the characters are a prey to illusion or frustration. (188)

As a result, in contrast to *Dubliners* where the episodic structure provides a more complete development of Dublin as a space and renders the city recognizable to the local observer, in “Wandering Rocks,” the structure ensnares the reader, preventing them from

making sense of the city and its overlapping perspectives as they are reconstructed from a distance.

The parallels between *Portrait* and “Wandering Rocks” are even more pronounced, with “Wandering Rocks” resurrecting the image of the labyrinth as the episodes “technic” according to the Gilbert schema. As discussed above, the labyrinth in *Portrait* is a reference to the Dedalian myth of Dedalus’s escape from Crete and is widely considered to forecast the expatriation of both Stephen Dedalus and the Joyce himself. In “Wandering Rocks”, however, the labyrinth takes on a different significance in relation to Joyce’s exile and Stephen’s return to Ireland in *Ulysses*. From the position of exile, we may interpret the labyrinth of “Wandering Rocks” not as the city that keeps Stephen within its walls, but rather as the fortress that keeps the exiled Joyce or the returning expatriate Stephen from reaching its center. Through this lens, the constant wandering, layering, and overlapping narratives of “Wandering Rocks” serve as a futile attempt for Joyce to penetrate the labyrinth and represent Dublin from afar.

In his attempt to reconstruct Dublin from the position of exile, Joyce employs the constraining influences Stephen identifies in *Portrait* as defining characteristics of Dublin. As Stephen says to Davin in *Portrait*, “When the soul is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets” (179) and later to Cranly, “I will not serve that in which I no longer believe whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church” (218). The “nets” and loyalties to nation, church, and home that Stephen evades in the final chapter of *Portrait* are reinstated in the structure of “Wandering Rocks,” alongside the colonial power of the British government to define the



sociopolitical spaces of the Dublin streets. Most notably are the representatives of “ecclesiastical and civil authority” –Father Conmee and the viceregal cavalcade—which appear at the start and end of the chapter respectively (Blamires 93). Several critics have commented on the symbolic function of these two figures in the chapter as the “reigning political macronarratives of church and state” that dictate much of Dublin public life and provide the dominant structural frame of the chapter (Fogarty, “States of Memory” 62).<sup>65</sup>

Existing within the narrative frame of Church and State, the middle sections of the chapter are filled with both subtle and explicit references to the narrativizing impulses of turn-of-the-century Irish nationalism and to Stephen’s family—the other “nets” of *Portrait*. Irish nationalism is depicted far more subtly in “Wandering Rocks” than in other chapters of *Ulysses* (“Cyclops,” for example); it can be found in the Mr. Kernan’s brief remarks on Robert Emmet’s hanging (197), Mulligan’s identification of Parnell’s brother (204), Haines’s questions about Stephen writing for the nationalist cause (205), and in Ned Lambert’s tour of the Council Chamber of Saint Mary’s Abbey (189). Scattered throughout the chapter, the references to the Ireland’s nationalist movements (past and present) suggest a pervasive cultural memory surrounding Irish rebellion and national pride. Unlike the domineering and highly visible symbols of Church and State, the allusions to nationalism are more reliant on readers’ preexisting knowledge of Irish history and culture. Additionally, as Anne Fogarty notes, the nationalist allusions that are presented most obviously in the text are part of narrativizing efforts as many of the characters attempt to “write histories of their own” through “a desire to appropriate and

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<sup>65</sup>See Clive Harts “Wandering Rocks” in *James Joyce’s Ulysses: Critical Essays*, William C. Mottolese’s “Wandering Rocks” as Ethnography? Or Ethnography on the Rocks”, and Shan-Yun Huang’s “Wandering Temporalities”: Rethinking ‘Imagined Communities’ through ‘Wandering Rocks’” for examples.

reformulate a well-worn communal legacy of historical narratives” (“States of Memory” 66). Between Fr. Conmee’s thoughts about the Jesuit history in Ireland, Ned Lambert’s story of Silken Thomas’s failed rebellion, and Kernan’s reflections on Emmet’s execution, the most prominent examples of nationalist sentiment in the “Wandering Rocks” reveal the role of narrative in the movement for Irish independence; as a writer, Stephen (and indeed, Joyce) could aid the national narrative through movements like the Gaelic Revival, as Haines suggests (193), but he refuses to serve (*Portrait* 211).<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the omnipresent nationalist references throughout “Wandering Rocks” offer a less authoritarian but no less powerful barrier between Stephen and Dublin social life, further emphasizing his exile.

Unlike the allusions to Irish nationalism, Stephen’s family is far more prominent in the chapter with sections featuring Katey and Boody and Simon and Dilly Dedalus. Each of these episodes with Stephen’s family mirror the poverty and destitution Stephen laments in *Portrait* as Katey and Boody attempt to sell Stephen’s books (186) and Simon and Dilly stand outside the auction room (195), both in an effort to keep the family afloat.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, Stephen’s realization that Dilly “is drowning” under the weight of the family’s poverty and his unwillingness to help her for fear he will drown too echoes his understanding in *Portrait* after he rejects the priesthood that “all that had been denied [the other Dedalus children] had been given freely to him” (142). The presence of the younger Dedalus children in “Wandering Rocks” recalls the parasitic nature of Stephen’s family

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<sup>66</sup> And as Davin similarly requests in *Portrait* when he tells Stephen, “Try to be one of us...In your heart you are an Irishman but your pride is too powerful” (178).

<sup>67</sup> Indeed, Katey is actually unable to sell Stephen’s books, suggesting that Dublin is not only a space that is unproductive for the artist but also one that broadly devalues literary achievement as a whole. This is further supported by the presence of several examples of sensationalist literature in “Wandering Rocks” (including Miss Dunne’s hidden copy of Wilkie Collins’s *The Woman in White* and Bloom’s purchase of *Sweets of Sin*).

relationships as they are drain on his finances and a threat to his literary pursuits; his rejection of their affection and refusal to come to their aid solidifies his otherness as a spiritual (if not physical) exile and justifies Joyce's own exile as a form of self-preservation against the all-consuming obligation to his family.

The combined influences of Church, State, Nation, and family in "Wandering Rocks" dominate both the structure and content of the chapter, illustrating the inescapability of these influences in representations of Dublin. Each case offers a mode of understanding the city as long as the Irish subject is willing to accept its terms; Stephen could choose to write for the nationalist movement, to reconsider the religious order, or to help Dilly and therefore return to the fold of Irish social life and culture. However, these choices are "nets" that strip the artist of autonomy and require a rejection of the cosmopolitan values of modernist art. In refusing to surrender to these nets in *Portrait* and later in "Wandering Rocks", Stephen (and Joyce) accepts his position of exile but also loses access to the national space, which is only intelligible through the lenses of ecclesiastical colonial, national, or familial politics. "Wandering Rocks" illustrates the representational struggle to overcome these political influences through the use of "objective" material artifacts (i.e. public registers, maps, newspapers, ordnance surveys, etc.), but ultimately the encyclopedic narrative reconstruction of Dublin in the chapter does little to penetrate the nets of colonialism, nationalism, or religion. Instead, "Wandering Rocks"—and indeed the whole of *Ulysses*—remains constrained by the socio-political realities of Dublin that cannot be erased or evaded by the artist in exile.

Given the apparent inescapability of sociopolitical ideologies, "Wandering Rocks" may be read as evidence of the ultimate impossibility of reconstructing the

homeland from memory at all. Throughout the chapter, readers are presented with several models and systems for constructing meaning and understanding Dublin as a space in the novel, such as generic conventions, the Homeric intertext, the cartographic/encyclopedic narrative style, the movement of characters, etc. However, within “Wandering Rocks” each of these methods of making meaning is systematically undermined. This brings into question the very ability to make meaning in the twentieth century, particularly for the exiled subject.

The chapter starts by flouting many conventions of the novel as a genre; it does not progress linearly through space or time, it avoids centralizing any one character, and it does not contribute to the novel’s overall plot. Additionally, unlike the earlier chapters in *Ulysses*, “Wandering Rocks” does not replace typical genre conventions with a Homeric parallel to contextualize the narrative; instead, it is the only episode without a direct Homeric intertext. As Anne Fogarty states, “Although the Symplegades, or Clashing Rocks, are mentioned on several occasions in *The Odyssey*, the feat of passing between these twin dangers is part of the catalogue or adventures of Jason in the *Argonautica* and not of *Ulysses*” (“States of Memory” 59). The very inclusion of “Wandering Rocks” within *Ulysses* signals a break with the novel’s primary source of meaning (*The Odyssey*) and prevents readers from clearly distinguishing major and minor characters and events.<sup>68</sup> For example, Bloom, Stephen, and Molly (as doubles of the Homeric Odysseus, Telemachus, and Penelope) are given the same or less space as minor

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<sup>68</sup> This effect is exacerbated by the unusually ironic narrator of the episode. As Michael Rubenstein notes, the narrator of “Wandering Rocks” “appears to cleave closely to the conventions of a recognizably omniscient narrator so typical of nineteenth-century realist fiction,” but “doesn’t appear to be doing the usual work of concentrating on major figures or of sorting between important and unimportant events” (117-118).

characters like Father Conmee or Patrick Dignam. The result is a chapter that literally wanders from perspective to perspective without a clear purpose or relationship the novel's Homeric plot.

Without the possibility of a Homeric intertext, some critics have argued for a “cartographic reading” of “Wandering Rocks” that uses the characters’ routes through Dublin as a means of understanding the episode’s structure and movement (Parsons 158). This method relies heavily on the chapter’s encyclopedic narrative style and the detailed research Joyce reportedly conducted while drafting. However, the detailed references to Dublin’s topography and material culture that serve to reclaim Dublin from colonial power in *Dubliners* further compound the representational problems in *Ulysses* because of the ties between material culture and colonial and nationalist histories and ideologies. As noted above, Joyce relied on several maps, directories, and other artifacts to reconstruct the Dublin of June 16, 1904. However, those documents and maps are neither neutral nor objective. For example, the maps Joyce consulted are a product of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, a colonial project aimed at improving taxation for the benefit of (mostly Anglo-Irish Protestant) landowners (Hegglund 62). As Jon Hegglund notes,

[a]lthough the maps of Dublin in *Thom’s* [*Thom’s Official Directory of Dublin*] appear ideologically neutral and innocently factual, these maps were in fact derived from an imperial survey of a colonial space. This fact is important not because Joyce’s use of these maps somehow implicates him in the colonial domination of his own country, but because *Ulysses* is frequently read according to the spatial assumptions established by post-Enlightenment cartography: that all

geographical knowledge fits into one comprehensive archive and that each geographical fact within the archive is empirically positive, existing outside of the observer and independent of the conditions of observation. (63-4).

In essence, Joyce's use of maps and material culture do not help him escape the ideological influences of colonialism or nationalism, but rather further illustrate the impossibility of representing the homeland outside of those influences. Even the physical spaces of Dublin remain inseparable from their colonial context as their names evoke both national and colonial histories. According to Fogarty, "most Dublin streets are named after English monarchical families and lord lieutenants and their consorts. Hence the workings of power and the complex legacies of a divided history are part of the very topography of the lives of Joyce's characters" ("States of Memory" 64). Both Fogarty and Hegglund's observations of the inherent colonial history inscribed on the spaces of Dublin illustrate that the city cannot be severed from its sociopolitical context.

Furthermore, Joyce's own representation of the city is made suspect in "Wandering Rocks" as the episode contains cartographic errors in the replication of Dublin's streets.<sup>69</sup> During the viceregal cavalcade in the final section of the chapter, Joyce misrepresents the flow of the Poddle river and the cavalcade's crossing over the Royal Canal (Crowley and Creasy 91). While Clive Hart suggests that these errors may have been a deliberate choice with ironic intent, C  il  n Parsons notes that such irony only works if readers have a detailed knowledge of Dublin's streets: "[W]e might read it as a disorienting moment, but it can only be so if we are already oriented. The reader who is not intimately familiar with the city doesn't experience disorientation, but rather wonder

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<sup>69</sup> For more on the errors in "Wandering Rocks" and the critical attention they have garnered, see Ronan Crowley and Matthew Creasy's "Gablerizing Error: 'Wandering Rocks.'"

at the mass of detail crammed into this tour through the city” (163). Therefore, the errors in the cavalcade’s procession are not easily understood as ironic, but instead bring the chapter’s attempts at encyclopedic detail and total representation of Dublin into question. As Parsons notes, “the novel approaches the idea that it can and should represent the social totality while at the same time being challenged and confronted by the impossibility of such a project” (161). Readers emerge from “Wandering Rocks” expecting to have a clearer knowledge of Dublin as a space, but instead are confronted by its unknowability in part because of the inherent untrustworthiness of maps and other methods of creating meaning.

By undermining the various representational and interpretive methods employed to depict Dublin in the first half of *Ulysses*, “Wandering Rocks” brings into question the very possibility of representation from the position of exile. As Parsons notes, “the novel approaches the idea that it can and should represent the social totality while at the same time being challenged and confronted by the impossibility of such a project” (161). If we view the whole of *Ulysses* as an attempt to reconstruct the homeland from memory, brick by brick, “Wandering Rocks” is the chapter in which that project becomes untenable.<sup>70</sup> The systems and artifacts Joyce relies on to represent Dublin in the chapter—the official maps, directories, and schemas—are ultimately incapable of recreating a coherent, living Dublin, and can only create fragmented, disoriented city frozen in the moment before exile. Through this fractured image of Dublin, Parson argues, “Wandering Rocks” effectively dismantles the very “idea of the map, stripping it down so that it functions no

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<sup>70</sup> Indeed, following “Wandering Rocks,” the novel takes a stylistic turn towards more extreme forms of experimentation until Dublin becomes almost unrecognizable (such as “Circe,” the stage-play with frequent, disjointed, and fantastical scene changes) or indiscernible (such as “Penelope,” in which entirety of the episode takes place in Molly Bloom’s mind as she lies in bed).

longer as a representation of space, but only of scale—its reference is not to a represented world, but to a world of representation” (164). In other words, “Wandering Rocks” illustrates that, for the exile in particular, spaces are always already contested, and socially constructed. Unlike other expatriates like Hemingway and Stein who view European spaces as neutral, almost blank slates for their literary project, Joyce is acutely aware that no space is truly neutral nor comprehensible, least of all the homeland.

### **Conclusion**

“Wandering Rocks” is a culmination of the broader themes of spatial representation and spatial identity across Joyce’s oeuvre. By tracking the evolution of Joyce’s spatial representation across *Dubliners*, *Portrait*, and *Ulysses*, we can observe how Joyce positions the spaces of Dublin as a central concern to the development of his national and eventually exilic identity. From the radical locality of *Dubliners*, to the mythic reframing of space in *Portrait*, to the fragmented and encyclopedic representation of “Wandering Rocks,” there remains a continuity in the focus on the homeland as a site of rebellion, trauma, and anxiety for the modernist artist as he navigates the boundaries between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. While in many ways Joyce’s struggle with his national identity is unique, owing in part to Ireland’s complex national history, the spatial concerns that characterize his fiction are part of a larger trend in modernism. As Edward Said states, “[m]odern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, and refugees” like Joyce, and modernist aesthetics shifted and formed to accommodate the modernist artist’s changing relationship to space (137). In this sense, Joyce’s own spatial and aesthetic evolution from *Dubliners* through *Ulysses* mirrors the development of expatriate modernism as a whole.



## CODA: EXPATRIATES ON TOUR

I've written Pamplona once and for keeps. It is all there as it always was except forty thousand tourists have been added. There were not twenty tourists when I first went there nearly four decades ago. Now on some days they say there are close to a hundred thousand in the town.

—Ernest Hemingway, *The Dangerous Summer*

Since starting this dissertation, I've often been asked by non-academics about my work. When I tell people that I'm writing about expatriate artists of the 1920s, I typically get very similar responses:

*Oh! You should go to Europe to do "research!"*

*Have you ever read The Paris Wife? Or seen Midnight in Paris?*

Occasionally, I'll get recommendations from well-travelled friends,

*Make sure you check out the running of the bulls!*

*Have you ever been to Bloomsday?*

*You have to go to Closerie des Lilas! Did you know Hemingway wrote there?*

For many Americans, these spaces remain the land of the Lost Generation—the stomping grounds of Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Cole Porter, and Man Ray. The irony of these travel recommendations and the insistence that I must go to Europe to properly study these American artists is not lost on me. Nonetheless, the consistency of these comments illustrates exactly what this dissertation argues—the myth of the modernist expatriate is pervasive and has had a profound effect on our perception of European spaces, even today. Nowhere is this effect clearer, perhaps, than in twenty-first-century tourism where the sites of modernist expatriation have become spectacles for current travelers looking to recapture the mystique of the 1920s and show off their literary acumen. A quick search on Google or in the travel section of a bookstore will unearth several examples of literary

tourism to former expatriate hot spots, and cities like Paris, Pamplona, and Dublin themselves contain statues and plaques marking the spaces of expatriation for modern day visitors.

Tourism is a theme that runs throughout this dissertation and through the lives of the modernist expatriates themselves. As I illustrate in Chapter 1, the expatriate lifestyle drew transatlantic travelers to Europe, and writers like Hemingway, Joyce, and Stein were often featured in guidebooks and newspaper articles advertising the spectacle of the Left Bank for visiting Americans. While the authors themselves may now be relegated to history books and college literature courses, their public personas and their representations of Europe persist in our cultural consciousness through movies, books, and, particularly, tours that glamorize the interwar period. I argue that by studying these tourist artifacts, we can begin to appreciate the long-reaching effects of the modernist expatriate myth and how it has shifted contemporary readers' perspectives on globalism and the "foreign spaces" of Western literature. Below I offer twenty-first-century tourism examples for three of the expatriate spaces discussed in this dissertation—Paris, Pamplona, and Dublin—to highlight the ways the modernist myth has informed the construction and treatment of modern-day spaces and culture. More particularly, I demonstrate how the construction of these tourist spaces has obscured the complex politics and history of exploitation and cooptation I identify at the heart of the high modernist expatriate project.

### **Paris: Reliving Expatriate Café Culture**

Paris is a unifying location for the authors of this dissertation (as each of them lived in the city for parts of their career) and serves an equally important role in the

development of modernism; many artists in the traditional high modernist canon called Paris their home in the early twentieth century—from T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound to Sherwood Anderson and Henry Miller.<sup>7172</sup> Given the allure of Paris at the height of the modernist movement, it is hardly surprising that the city continues to draw tourists to this day. Much like the pleasure-seeking tourists of the 20s, many of today’s travelers to Paris visit the city not only to experience Parisian life but also to visit the various homes and haunts of expatriate modernists who claimed Paris as their own during the interwar years.

Many Americans have a cultural fascination with expatriate Paris, fueled in part by the popularity of the modernist expatriates themselves. Thanks to the enduring popularity of some modernist texts (i.e. Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* or Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*), there remains a modern-day cult of celebrity surrounding the many modernist expatriate authors that rivals their celebrity status even in the 1920s. Compounding this effect is the American cultural fascination with the 1920s as a whole (i.e. *Great Gatsby* theme parties, Prohibition-style bars, etc.) and representations of the expatriate life in popular culture. Woody Allen’s Academy Award-winning *Midnight in*

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<sup>71</sup> These various figures are merely examples of the expatriate community that inhabited France in the 1920s and 30s, and their own expatriate experiences are certainly quite varied. The introduction and first chapter of this dissertation explore the relationship between expatriation and modernism in more detail, and the connection between the two is, to quote Daniel Katz, “venerable to the point of being a cliché” (1). Modernism as a movement is deeply indebted to the transnational mobility of many of its artists as such mobility contributed to many of the stylistic innovations we associate with the movement. As Donald Pizer notes, “[t]wo of the central characteristics of the rich vein that is American high modernism between the wars—the deeply critical response of the American writer to his society and his attempt to express this response in new ways—are therefore represented suggestively and powerfully by expatriate writing” (xiv). In short, the very aesthetics of modernism are reflected in the act of expatriation by many artists during the interwar period.

<sup>72</sup> For more on the relationship between modernist expatriation and the modernist movement and aesthetic, see Pizer’s *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place*, Craig Monk’s *Writing the Lost Generation: Expatriate Autobiography and American Modernism*, Martin Halliwell’s “American Expatriate Fictions and the Ethics of Sexual Difference” in *Modernism and Morality: Ethical Devices in European and American Fiction*, J. Gerald Kennedy’s *Imagining Paris: Exile, Writing and American Identity*, and Daniel Katz’s *American Modernism’s Expatriate Scene: The Labour of Translation*.

*Paris*, for example, has inspired a new generation of tourists to ditch their mundane American existence and instead walk Paris streets in the rain. Thanks to media like *Midnight in Paris*, along with literary guidebooks and travel blogs, the city has become a mythic space full of “literature, jazz, optimism, style, and atmosphere,” where the city is remapped as an expatriate space, identifiable largely through its relationship to foreign (often American) artists. as one travel blogger puts it (Kepnes).<sup>73 74</sup>

However, to be effective at recreating the past for modern-day visitors, these texts describe Paris as frozen in time:

- “It’s easy to return to past scenes of Paris because it is a city that does not change” (Haight).
- “Even though nearly a century has passed since Hemingway lived and wrote in the streets of Paris, his unique version of the city remains: stroll through the windy avenues of the Left Bank, visit the Jardin Luxembourg or sit down at one of his favorite cafés to make Hemingway’s Paris your own” (Geiling).
- “What made les Années folles special can never be relived — the spirit, psyche, people, and music have long since faded away. But, as we have seen with the rise of Gatsby-themed parties and Prohibition-style bars, you can pretend! And that’s what I did on a recent visit to Paris, where there are still enough spots that recreate the era’s vibe to fill a visit” (Kepnes).

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<sup>73</sup> Many of the travel guides and blogs in question use expatriate autobiographies and memoirs as the sources of their historical information. The majority of travel blogs include “suggested readings” in which Stein’s *Autobiography* and Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast* are mainstays.

<sup>74</sup> In some cases, the city is literally mapped in relation to individual expatriates, as is the case with Mary Ellen Jordan Haight’s *Walks in Gertrude Stein’s Paris* and Arlen J. Hansen’s *Expatriate Paris: A Cultural and Literary Guide to Paris of the 1920s*. Hansen’s text is particularly explicit in its remapping, providing “thirty-three different clusters or neighborhoods...within reasonable walking distance of one another” nine maps, and an index that organizes the locations by “Persons Mentioned” lest a traveler wish to literally walk in a particular author’s footsteps (xxv).

- “But even without a vintage car, the '20s aren't hard to find in Paris. This is partly because, despite Hemingway's famous pronouncement that Paris is a moveable feast, the city has barely altered in 150 years” (Caplan).
- “Luckily most places in Paris are not in the habit of changing, so it is easy to follow in the footsteps of those who once called Paris home” (McConnell).

This constant refrain suggests an immutability that is simply unrealistic in a city that lived through Nazi occupation and a World War, but it is an important characterization in the context of transnational tourism. By insisting on an unchanging Paris, these tours and travel guides replicate the modernists' own tendency to view these spaces as frozen in time. Much like Joyce's fixed image of Dublin in June of 1904 or Hemingway's recreation of Paris in 1922 in *A Moveable Feast*,<sup>75</sup> the twenty-first-century tourism industry has created a tourism culture around a mythic space rather than the actual city. In this unchanging view of the city, foreign figures are privileged above the locals, and current businesses and industries are overlooked in favor of nostalgia; businesses that can trace their lineage to the 1920s or claim the patronage of Hemingway or Fitzgerald become centerpieces in this inflexible version of the city.<sup>76</sup>

In the hunt for nostalgic 1920s locations, most of the tour guides and travel books feature the same handful of expatriate sites with almost every list including Harry's New York Bar, Les Deux Magot, Café de Flore, and La Closerie des Lilas. The character of

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<sup>75</sup> Indeed, both Joyce and Hemingway are lauded for representing the cities in this way. Joyce is famous for claiming *Ulysses* would make it possible to reconstruct Dublin brick by brick using just his text. Similarly, in the process of editing *A Moveable Feast* in 1964, Mary Hemingway claims that she “flew over [to Paris] and retraced all the steps Ernest wrote he took, first by myself and then with my friend, Gordon Parks, the photographer and writer. Ernest had made two mistakes in the spellings of street names. Otherwise his memory has been perfect” (“The Making of the Book: A Chronicle and a Memoir”).

<sup>76</sup> Naturally, businesses have exploited tourists' desires for nostalgia by highlighting Lost Generation patrons in their advertising and on their menus; see, for example, La Closerie des Lilas' “filet de boeuf Hemingway” for 48€ (“Menus”).

this list is telling. While some of the guides will list Shakespeare and Company or the plaque outside Gertrude Stein's apartment on the rue de Fleurus, the locations most easily recognized and marketed as part of expatriate Paris are bars and cafés.<sup>77</sup> While much of expatriate life in Paris did revolve around café culture, the fact that these sites have come to dominate the tourist understanding of the period perpetuates the myth of Paris in the 20s as "a city of legendary debauchery and depravity" and encourages tourists to indulge in similar behavior (Storey). As Thomas Storey of *Culture Trip* notes, "Hemingway's famous absinthe fueled drinking habits in particular have inspired a host of imitators and have given an excuse for bars throughout the city to claim that Ernest once got drunk at their establishment."

However, while the popular drunken characterization of Paris in the 1920s has been good for business for the few bars listed in the tour guides, such opulent portrayals ignore the social and economic circumstances that created bar/café culture.<sup>78</sup> As Erin Zaleski of the *Daily Beast* states, in the 1920s "[d]runks often were found passed out in

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<sup>77</sup> Admittedly, the bars are more easily marketed than 27 rue de Fleurus or Shakespeare and Company. Gertrude Stein's former apartment on the rue de Fleurus has been remodeled and is private property, though many tour guides and travel blogs still encourage travelers to visit and stand "in the footsteps of a 'Who's Who of the early twentieth century' (Robson). The current Shakespeare and Company in Paris is not the same bookstore opened by Sylvia Beach in 1919 nor is it in the same location, though the new store still serves as a tourist destination for many looking to experience expatriate Paris. The current Shakespeare and Company was opened in 1964 as an homage to Beach's establishment and has no relation to the original shop ("History: A Brief History of a Parisian Bookstore"). Additionally, much like the cafes and bars that ignore the history of financial struggle that enabled expatriate café culture, the replacement of Shakespeare and Company glosses over the troubling political situation that led to the closure of Beach's original shop. As Erin Zaleski describes, thanks to her American citizenship and many Jewish affiliations, Beach was forced to suddenly close Shakespeare and Company during the Nazi occupation of Paris in 1941, and she was soon after sent to an internment camp in Vittel for six months.

<sup>78</sup> Several of the travel guides and blogs note the high prices at these establishments now as a result of the tourism industry. When describing Harry's, Anna Brones remarks, "Nowadays, it's a very tourist spot and the prices remind you of it. But if you're in it to relive a moment of history, it's worth the tariff." She levels a similar critique at the Café de Flore where bottles of red wine can cost as much as 600€ and the Closerie des Lilas whose high prices have led some visitors to hate the iconic café. Similarly, Nina Caplan of *The Telegraph* describes the once-popular Les Deux Magots as a place "where no modern Hemingway could afford to drink."

bistro doorways, and the cafés were bustling for practical rather than social reasons—nobody wanted to go back to their garrets.” Aside from Zaleski, however, the majority of travel blogs and tour guides forgo any discussion of bleak twentieth-century economics in favor of touristic make-believe where Hemingway fans can “pretend to have a drink with ‘Papa’” and “relive the Midnight in Paris glory days” (Kepnes, Brones).

### **Pamplona: Discovering the Corrida**

While Paris was well-established as a literary and cultural center long before the publication of either *A Moveable Feast* or *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, this was not the case for the other expatriate spaces described in the chapters above; indeed, Hemingway’s Spanish novels had a profound impact on future tourism and international views of Spanish spaces. While memorials and reminders of Hemingway’s time in Spain can be found throughout the country, Pamplona has perhaps been most transformed by its association with the writers thanks to the popularity of *The Sun Also Rises* and Hemingway’s descriptions of the Festival de San Fermín. Though the festival dates back to the fourteenth century, in the 1920s it was a relatively provincial affair (Self). However, now the festival is famous internationally for the running of the bulls, thanks largely to Hemingway’s endorsement in his novel.

The city’s transformation began in the 1950s when, according to Anglo-Irish author and regular Pamplona tourist Jesse Graham, “American college kids started to read Hemingway’s book and wanted to experience the fiesta” (Nilsson, “Hemingway’s Pamplona”). Hemingway himself remarked on the city’s growing popularity in his 1960 serialization of “The Dangerous Summer” for *LIFE Magazine*. Upon returning to Pamplona for the first time since the Spanish Civil War, Hemingway states, “I’ve written

Pamplona once and for keeps. It is all there as it always was except forty thousand tourists have been added. There were not twenty tourists when I first went there nearly four decades ago. Now on some days they say there are close to a hundred thousand in the town” (“Dangerous Summer, Part II” 73). While Hemingway does not take credit for the changing crowd at the fiesta, the dozens of blogs, travel guides, and editorials in the decades since his death have noted the effect Hemingway’s legacy had on Pamplona’s international reputation. According to Chris Leadbeater’s 2011 article from *The Independent*, “you might even say that he forged the modern idea of Pamplona and San Fermín, his celebratory words transforming what had been a provincial party into a global event.”

In modern-day Pamplona, Hemingway is as much a part of that global event as the fiesta itself, as memorials to the author are scattered across the city. There is a bronze statue of him standing at the bar at Café Iruña, a bust of him outside of the corrida, and the city holds an annual Hemingway look-alike contest every year during the Fiesta de San Fermín. Additionally, as *Huffington Post* contributor Brooke Self notes, local businesses regularly use Hemingway’s name and association with the city as a marketing tool, including a shop called “Panuelico de Hemingway” or the “Little Handkerchief of Hemingway” that sells clothing and accessories for audiences at the corrida. Self compares the omnipresence of Hemingway in Pamplona to religious symbolism: “He’s enshrined here. In more than one location you can find him in bronze. In this Spanish city and traditionally Catholic country, I’m not referring to the Crucifix, or even the co-patron San Fermin, but [to an] American author.” These landmarks and reminders of



Hemingway's presence attract tourists from across the globe, looking to walk in the footsteps of Jake Barnes and Brett Ashley.

However, while Pamplona may be filled with reminders and representations of Hemingway and his work, some bloggers and travel guides note that the citizens themselves don't share tourists' enthusiasm for the American writer. According to Lucinda Poole, a Pamplona local and Hemingway expert, "Most haven't even read his book. They just remember the Hemingway of the 1950s, who used to hang around in bars and drink...Hemingway loved Pamplona much more than Pamplona loved him" (Frentzen). Hemingway's popularity supersedes the feelings of local residents, and the popularity of *The Sun Also Rises* has made the running of the bulls at the Fiesta de San Fermín an infamous tourist attraction in a town that was previously only well-known by bullfighting aficionados. Though the city's literary associations have created a tourism economy, they have also resulted in unintended safety hazards; for example, as Jesse Graham notes, the increase in participants during the annual running of the bulls has led to a rise in accidents, particularly because many non-Spanish runners are unaware of the dangers of the activity and the behaviors of the bulls: "Runners easily slip and fall on the narrow cobblestone streets, creating a monton (pileup) that trips the bulls. 'You get knocked over a number of times each time you run,' [Graham] says. 'It's much harder to run nowadays, technically speaking'" (Nilsson). Such concerns are reminiscent of the goring in *The Sun Also Rises* when a peasant dies during the running while expatriates like Brett and Cohn obliviously watch in the fiesta.

In addition to the complicated and dangerous exploits of Hemingway tourists during the running of the bulls, there are also rhetorical and political implications in the

Hemingway-centric tourist narratives that are propagated in Pamplona. Most notably, by focusing on Hemingway's supposed *afficion* and love of bullfighting, the tourism industry effectively erases Hemingway's political privilege and ability to escape the effects of Francoist rule in post-Civil War Spain. A major reason why Pamplona did not become popular until the 1950s is because of the political turmoil in Spain immediately following the Spanish Civil War. During this period, many of Hemingway's books were banned, and as Hemingway himself states, "I had never expected to be allowed to return to the country that I loved more than any other except my own and I would not return so long as any of my friends there were in jail" ("The Dangerous Summer, Part I" 78). However, in 1953, Hemingway *was* able to return to Spain as long as he avoided talking about politics. Describing his return in "The Dangerous Summer," he explains that the journey posed no issues since American tourists were not required to apply for visas, and, thanks to a Spanish inspector who was a fan of Hemingway's work, the author was able to enter the country without issue even under Franco's rule (78). Hemingway's easy, apolitical return to Spain after the war is recounted gratefully in "The Dangerous Summer," and echoes the observations made above in Chapter 2; foreign participants in the Spanish Civil War—particularly Americans—were far less likely to suffer the retribution of the Francoist regime than locals, even foreigners like Hemingway who supported the Republican cause. In contrast, Hemingway's friend Juanito Quintana, famous hotelier of the Hotel Quintana who was the inspiration for Montoya in *The Sun Also Rises*, was also a Republican during the war, but following Franco's victory he lost his hotel ("The Old Man and The City: Hemingway's Love Affair with Pamplona"). Modern-day visitors to Pamplona looking to visit the famous "Hotel Montoya" are now

instead directed to the luxurious Gran Hotel la Perla as a famous Hemingway haunt, though there is no evidence the author ever stayed there (Izu).<sup>79</sup> While the mistake is likely a marketing ploy on the part of the Gran Hotel la Perla, the switch is telling. The violence and exploitation present in Hemingway's Spanish fiction is overshadowed by the figure of the author himself as he is immortalized in opulent hotel suites, bronze statues, and touristy costume contests.

### **Dublin: Reliving Bloomsday**

The tourism surrounding James Joyce is in many ways the inverse of the tourist phenomena described above. Unlike Paris and Pamplona which were coopted by expatriates like Stein and Hemingway in the 1920s and remain tied to memories of expatriate culture, Joyce's Dublin is not an expatriate space; he does not coopt the streets of Dublin in his fiction, but rather he *reclaims* the city from the powers of colonialism, Catholicism, and nationalism across the distances of exile. Additionally, in the context of Joyce's self-imposed exile, Joycean tourism in Dublin is unique as it returns the exiled artist to the homeland and celebrates his work in a space where it was previously rejected. On the surface, this reclamation of Joyce as a national author is appealing—a sort of apology across the years for failing to support the artist in his own time. However, the nature of some Joycean tourism in Dublin is far more complex than mere appreciation of Joyce's work.

Perhaps the most infamous example of Joycean tourism in Dublin is Bloomsday, an annual celebration of *Ulysses* in the Dublin streets. Unlike the more benign plaques,

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<sup>79</sup> As of 2020, the Gran Hotel la Perla charges over 3000€ per night for the “Hemingway Suite” during the Fiesta de San Fermín.

tours, and bars described above in Paris and Pamplona, Bloomsday is uniquely performative and eccentric as it recreates Joyce's descriptions of Dublin on June 16, 1904, in the modern-day city. Far from the other examples of expatriate-related tourism as cooptation of foreign space by expatriates, Bloomsday instead coopts the expatriate *artist* and imposes his vision of the homeland on the national space.

According to the official Dublin festival website, the first celebration of "Bloomsday" occurred on June 19, 1929 when Adrienne Monnier (partner of Sylvia Beach, the original publisher of *Ulysses*) threw a party to commemorate the events in the novel. However, the more commonly recognized first Bloomsday celebration was in Dublin on June 16, 1954, "when four of the city's literary notables attempted to trace the novel's steps around the city, only to crap out halfway through, too drunk to go on" (Murphy).<sup>80</sup> Since 1954, Dublin has held annual Bloomsday festivals that include everything from themed walking tours, food mentioned in the book (including the famous "Bloomsday breakfast" of fried pork kidneys), theatrical performances, public readings from the novel, lectures, pub crawls, and people dressed in Edwardian period clothing (*Bloomsday Festival 2020*).<sup>81</sup> Though Bloomsday is June 16, Dublin's festival lasts a week where a visitor is encouraged to "[e]ncounter the reality of experience. Forge memories in the smithy of your soul that ensure that when you die, Dublin be written on your heart" (*Bloomsday Festival 2020*). The festival is a mix of cultish fanboyism,

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<sup>80</sup> According to Nola Tully's *Yes I said yes I will Yes.: A Celebration of James Joyce, Ulysses, and 100 Years of Bloomsday*, there were actually five men at the first Bloomsday, "Brian O'Nolan, a writer for the *Irish Times*, the poet Patrick Kavanagh, the young critic Anthony Cronin, a dentist named Tom Joyce (a cousin of James Joyce) and John Ryan, a painter and businessman who owned and edited a literary magazine" (71). Accounts of the party stopping midway through their festivities because of drunkenness, however, are consistent across sources.

<sup>81</sup> As several articles note, there are actually annual Bloomsday celebrations held around the world, including Paris, New York, Philadelphia, Trieste, Szombathely (Hungary), Pula (Croatia), Melbourne, and Zurich, though the Dublin celebration is the largest and most famous (Luchette).

literary appreciation, Irish pride, and profanity that many think aptly captures the complex history of *Ulysses* itself; as Colin Dwyer of *NPR* notes,

Generally speaking, this is no home for the monocle-twisting, bitterly harrumphing stereotype of the elbow-patched academic. Like the book itself, celebrations at times happily veer into the playful and profane.

(After all, it's not for nothing that the book was banned from publication in the U.S. for more than a decade over obscenity concerns; for many celebrants, it seems only fitting that its loyal readers act accordingly.)

In essence, ridiculousness and irreverence are part of the point, a celebration of Joyce's own refusal to take any dogma or ideology too seriously.

However, while Bloomsday may capture the spirit of playfulness and experimentation in *Ulysses* in the context of spatial politics and Joyce's relationship to Ireland, it is quite strange. As I argue in Chapter 3, *Ulysses* is already playing with spatial memory; written several years after Joyce's departure from Ireland, the text is itself a recreation of the national space. Joyce relied on ordinance maps and registries while drafting the novel to ensure that it was accurate. While critics like Robert Nicholson have argued these facts mean "Dublin, more than any scholarly work of reference, is the most valuable document we have to help us appreciate the intricate craftsmanship of *Ulysses*," it is also important to remember that Joyce used the maps and directories in part because he did not have access to the city itself (vii). The Dublin of *Ulysses* is not a memory of Dublin in 1904. Rather, it is a fictional reconstruction of the homeland across the distance of exile. In this sense, the performative and theatrical nature of Bloomsday celebrations could highlight the performance and theatricality that occurs within *Ulysses* itself.

Instead, however, the ritual Bloomsday encourages a recreation of the Dublin in *Ulysses* as though Bloom's travels through the city are historical fact. The festival program promises "an inspiring trail of discovery across Joyce's Dublin and the places immortalised in *Ulysses*" in which participants can "experience the novel and follow in the characters' footsteps, from picturesque Sandycove (where the novel opens by plunging into the sea) to panoramic Howth (for the book's romantic climatic finish)" (*Bloomsday Festival 2020*). Like the literary tours of Paris and Pamplona, however, this recreation of Bloom's route is made difficult by the realities of modern Dublin. While you can still visit many of the locations (and some, like Sweny's Pharmacy, have reimagined themselves around Joyce-related tourism),<sup>82</sup> Dublin has changed immensely in the decades since Joyce's exile because of the Irish War of Independence, the Civil War, and property development booms in the 1960s and 1990s. For example, both Bloom's address on 7 Eccles Street and Nighttown are now gone (Tully 74). Further, while the official Bloomsday festival describes the annual pilgrimage through the city as "inspiring," Nicholson is quick to remind readers that turn-of-the-century Dublin was far from pleasant:

It is easy to fall into the nostalgic trap of thinking of 'Joyce's Dublin' as a city in a golden age—a time of sepia photographs, parasols, penny tramcars and the leisurely clop of horses' hooves. What we rarely see in the old photographs are the barefoot children, the rampancy of tuberculosis and rickets, the squalor of

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<sup>82</sup> Sweny's Pharmacy, "Dublin's Joycean Pharmacy," officially closed as a pharmacy in 2009, but remained open solely because of literary tourism. As they note on their website, "Some months [after the pharmacy closed], while photographs were being taken of the interior of the shop, people began wandering inside in search of the famous lemon-scented soap. Sweny's had no plan to trade, it just evolved, and the doors are still open today." The shop is currently run by volunteers, sells books and *Ulysses*-inspired soaps, and holds regular readings of the novel.

tenement life and the infamous brothels of Nighttown...“Dear dirty Dublin” was the provincial capital of a neglected country, and if independence, prosperity and cosmopolitanism have changed it, it is not altogether for the worse. (x)

Many of these realities are represented in *Ulysses*, a text filled with commentary on Ireland’s economic and political situation in the early twentieth century as well as moments of playfulness and profanity. Yet, the tourist enthusiasm for colorful Edwardian costumes and pub crawls risks glossing over these bleaker elements of the novel.

In part, this is because the spectacle of Bloomsday has in many ways transcended the conditions of the novel. As Frank McCourt notes, “*Ulysses* is more than a book. It’s an event—and that upsets purists, but who’s stopping them from retiring to quiet places for an orgy of textual analysis?” (Tully xiii). While McCourt may be right in pointing out that Bloomsday has rescued *Ulysses* from elitism of academia and returned it to the people, in many ways the celebration is more about the celebrity surrounding Joyce than it is about the novel.<sup>83</sup> As Jonathan Goldman notes, there is substantial celebrity and cultural capital in what he calls the Joyce brand:

When Joyce started work on *Ulysses* a hundred years ago, he was a rather cultish figure, having recently published *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Dubliners*, after many roadblocks for both. This limited but fervid devotion played into Joyce’s career: through the efforts of Ezra

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<sup>83</sup> Declan Kiberd levels a similar critique at the academic institutions that have claimed *Ulysses* in his book *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Living*. Kiberd laments that “[a] book which set out to celebrate the common man and woman endured the sad fate of never being read by most of them” (7). For Kiberd, *Ulysses* is a book “set out to restore the dignity of the middle range of human experience” and his book aims to “reconnect *Ulysses* to the everyday lives of real people” much like Bloomsday attempts to reenact the profanity of the novel in the Dublin streets.

Pound, *Ulysses* and its author became something of a cause célèbre for modernist coteries.

Joyce's success within modernist circles coupled with the high-profile legal cases against *Ulysses* in the 1930s catapulted the author into the public consciousness (Goldman).

However, the mainstream popularity of Joyce's brand does not necessarily translate into readership for *Ulysses*; as several articles on Bloomsday have noted, it is not a requirement nor an expectation that participants read the book to take part in the festival. Indeed, Frank McCourt acknowledges that even some of the performers during Bloomsday have yet to finish the book, but he reminds us, "It's alright. There are people who read bits of the Bible on Sundays but who among us has read the whole thing" (Tully xiii). The comparison between Bloomsday celebrant and ritual churchgoers is an apt one—rituals separated from their context. While the rituals are not inherently a problem, they seem dissonant in the context of Joyce's own political exile. Certainly one need not have read *Ulysses* to enjoy a Bloomsday pub crawl, but perhaps it is important to note Joyce's absence when walking in the footsteps of Stephen and Bloom.

The exploitation I identify at the heart of the modernist project in this dissertation extends beyond the pages of modernist novels and into the very spaces of expatriation where the effects of the modernist myth can still be felt. This dissertation revisits these spaces and the texts that created them to unseat the notion of the apolitical and stateless modernist expatriate and uncover the exploitation that lead to this myth. My hope is that by returning to these canonical modernist texts through the lens of spatial representation and spatial politics, I can offer a new methodology for approaching the New Modernist



Studies that encourages and reevaluates of the roots of the modernist expatriate paradigm and its relationship to contemporary culture.

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